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CONTENTS.

No. XXXVII.

	PAGE
On the Imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton	1
On the Iambic Trimeter. C. A. M. Fennell	14
Homerica. Arthur Platt	19
Propertius III. 18, 3—6. Robinson Ellis	56
Palaeographica. T. W. Allen	62
The Gerousia of Hierapolis. D. G. Hogarth	69
Notes in Latin Lexicography. H. Nettleship	102
Adversaria. H. Nettleship	109
Notes on the Vatican Glossary 3321. H. Nettleship	113
On some Passages of the Silvae of Statius. Hugh Macnaghten	129
Caesar's Invasions of Britain. William Ridgeway	138
The Iambic, A Reply. Arthur Platt	146
Traces of a Saying of the Didache. C. Taylor	148

No. XXXVIII.

	PAGE
Traces of a Saying of the Didache. C. Taylor	161
Adversaria IV. Robinson Ellis	173
Notes on Gloss. Vat. 3321 (Goetz). H. Nettleship . . .	184
Caesar's Expeditions to Britain. Henry Elliot Malden . .	193
Caesar's Invasion of Britain. William Ridgeway	200
The Augment in Homer. Arthur Platt	211
On Homeric Fishing-Tackle. C. E. Haskins	238
The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Homilies of Antiochus Palaestinensis. Jos. M. Cotterill	241
Notes on the Scholia of Aeschylus. Walter Headlam . . .	286
On Lucretius v 703 and the Verb *Desurgere*. J. P. Postgate .	288
Notes on the Vatican Glossary 3321. H. Nettleship . . .	290
Horace de Arte Poetica. H. Nettleship	296

THE JOURNAL

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ON THE IMITATION OF HOMER BY APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

THE time for excessive admiration of Apollonius Rhodius has long gone by, and now the fear is rather that he may be unduly depreciated. After all is said the Argonautica will always be valuable as, to a certain extent, a commentary on Homer, and it is from this point of view that the poem is chiefly interesting to philologists. Apollonius is of course an imitator of Homer, but his imitation lies within certain limits, and if these limits are disregarded a false impression may be the result. His date lying between that of Zenodotus and Aristarchus he was probably acquainted with both, and his criticisms on Homer are interesting as those not only of a Homeric student, but also of a contemporary of the famous trio Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus.

It is well known that Buttmann in the Lexilogus is constantly ridiculing Apollonius among other late Epic poets as an ignorant imitator of Homer, meaning of course that he mistakes the real meaning of Homer and uses his words in a sense different from that which they originally bore, but I think it will be found on examination that although in a few cases there may

be some grounds for this opinion, yet that, speaking generally, it is a false opinion, and, even where partially true, is much exaggerated. It may appear presumptuous to combat the great authority of Buttmann on such a question, but Homeric criticism has of late years made such great advances that an apology is scarcely needed for a reconsideration of his views.

Buttmann's error (as I consider it to be) seems to be based on two propositions which he assumes not only without proof but as if no proof were necessary. Firstly, he says, p. 547[1] with special reference to Apollonius, "In the later Epic poets, of whom it cannot be supposed that an intentional bold extension of the Homeric usage of words was part of their system, we shall now easily see displayed...a faulty imitation of Homer." Again, p. 528, s.v. *φάλος* "whether Apollonius, who at 3. 1228 calls an ornamented helmet *τετραφάληρον* and at 2. 920 *τετράφαλον*, imagined or could imagine a four-fold crest for four plumes, or whether in this instance as in others a defective comprehension of the old Epic representations determined the imagery of his expressions, I will not attempt to decide[2]." Again, p. 509, "Examples from the Alexandrine writers [meaning especially Apollonius] can prove nothing in favour of the real usage of the more ancient authors." That Apollonius does often extend the Homeric usage of words is undeniable, and, assuming Buttmann's view to be correct, every such extension is necessarily an ignorant imitation. But I venture to think that Buttmann's assumption that the later Epic poets did not intentionally extend the Homeric usage of words is not warranted by the facts, at least as far as Apollonius is concerned, and that the facts can be more reasonably explained on the precisely opposite assumption.

Where Apollonius does extend the Homeric usage it will be found in many cases that he follows some other Homeric interpretation or gives an example of each of two or more rival interpretations: in many others that he uses a word in a well-

[1] The references are to the 5th Edn. of the English translation.

[2] This is rather hard on Apollonius who was quite justified by Homer in using both words, when we consider that one of the chief objections to Buttmann's interpretation of *φάλος* is his total neglect of the word *τετράφαλος*!

known sense, which it bears in later Greek. To take a single example: Homer has *ἐεργόμενοι πολέμοιο* (N 525) of the gods *kept back* from the fight *κωλυόμενοι* Schol. cf. Λ 569. Ap. Rh. has *ἐεργομένοισιν ἀυτῆς* III. 184 of the Argonauts *abstaining* from fight. Merkel, in his prolegomena to Ap. Rh., concludes from this that Apollonius took the word in Homer "de deis sponte sua bello se abstinentibus." Buttmann would no doubt cite this as another example of "ignorant imitation" on the part of Apollonius. Moreover Buttmann's assumption proves too much, for Apollonius occasionally uses words in a sense obviously different from that which they have in Homer. There then Apollonius cannot be imitating the Homeric usage except on the supposition that he was devoid of ordinary intelligence. Buttmann evidently thought Apollonius a very dull person, for he almost congratulates him on using *θεουδής* in the Homeric sense of "god-fearing," and expresses surprise that he uses *ἐχθοδοπός* in its strict etymological sense, implying however that such correctness is accidental.

Buttmann says again s.v. *ἠέριος*, "They [the later Epic poets] were fond of and sought after this ambiguity of usage as a mark of learning." That is the case with Apollonius exactly, but such a usage, though it may be pedantic, by no means implies ignorant imitation. But the *à priori* argument against Buttmann is still stronger. We should not antecedently expect Apollonius to have been so ignorant. Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus are spoken of with respect at any rate, the latter with much more. Why is Apollonius alone to be a dunce? Apollonius was a Homeric critic himself. His readings and interpretations of Homer are still quoted. He wrote a book against Zenodotus which is referred to, and Merkel has shown in his prolegomena (p. lxxv) that some of the dicta ascribed to Apollonius Dyscolus and Apollodorus should in all probability be set down to Apollonius Rhodius. Instead of writing separate commentaries on Homer as did the other great Homeric critics, Apollonius seems to have chosen to embalm his criticisms in his Epic poem, and from that we can sometimes gather what was his reading and interpretation of Homer in certain passages.

Apollonius imitated Homer not as a humble disciple but as a rival. Homer the poet of the antique world sang of the war before Troy: modern Alexandria also must have its Epic poet, and he chose to sing of the Argonautic expedition. The theme was hackneyed no doubt, to judge from the list we have of poets who had already tried their hands on it, but Epic subjects are not numerous. Apollonius would therefore use Homer's language but he would also freely introduce the diction and usages of later days, and in fact he does so, e.g. he often uses words unknown to Homer and uses Homeric words in the sense they have in Herodotus and tragedy. But he has not genius enough to carry it off. He is as far below Homer in real poetic power as he is below Virgil, and he suffers at the hands of both. When compared with Homer he appears an artificial plagiarist. Where Virgil imitates Apollonius, the former carries off all the honours. He gathers up all that is good in Apollonius and improves upon it, and who shall blame him? For it is the prerogative of genius so to do. Whether in any particular case Apollonius intends to imitate Homer must be decided on its own merits. We can say generally only that if Apollonius has an isolated use which also occurs in Homer it is probable that he did there intend simple imitation, or perhaps takes the opportunity of recording his own interpretation of a Homeric expression.

Another unfounded assumption of Buttmann is that the Homeric usage of a word is always the same. Now it is almost impossible to find a ground-idea that will suit all the passages in which certain words occur. What single meaning is there that will suit the various uses of ἀδινός or τηλύγετος—a meaning, that is to say, which is not so general as to be pointless? Buttmann labours hard at this hopeless task, a necessary one however if Homer is not sometimes to appear as ignorant as Apollonius. The occurrence of such words is indeed a great difficulty if we assume a single author, but they are probably remnants of an older Epic diction, of which the various authors of Homer did not always have a precise notion themselves.

To treat exhaustively of the relations of Apollonius to the

other Homeric critics, to show in what points he differs from and in what he agrees with one or other of them, would require a book of some compass. I shall therefore in the following pages confine myself to giving a few examples of how Apollonius imitates Homer in the use of single words, purposely excluding the consideration of phrases and questions of syntax.

For the sake of clearness I divide the words I propose to discuss into different classes. Many of them are also discussed by Merkel, but I think he sometimes sees a reference to Homer where none is intended.

A. Those in which the use by Apollonius of a word points to the sense in which he took it in Homer, including cases of various readings, where we see therefore what was that of Apollonius.

(1) *ἄνεῳ*. This is always written *ἄνεω* (more properly *ἀνέω*) by Aristarchus, whom Buttmann follows, against the best MSS., on account no doubt of ψ 93 where it must be an adverb. Apollonius evidently read *ἄνεῳ*. He has three times *ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι* III. 503, 967, IV. 693. Buttmann (p. 109 n.) is mistaken in saying that the MSS. of Ap. Rh. offer *ἄνεω*. The best MS. the well known Cod. Laur. XXXII 9 has the *ι* subscript.

(2) in X 489 many editors read *ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπουρήσουσιν ἀρούρας*. So Bekker and Ameis, but the large majority of MSS. and Aristarchus read *ἀπουρίσσουσιν* which is much more pointed. This reading is adopted by Messrs Leaf and Monro, cf. M 421, Ap. Rh. III. 1386, and is supported by Ap. Rh. II. 794 as Merkel points out

> *δὴν ἀποτεμνόμενοι γαίης ἄλις, ὄφρ' ἐβάλοντο*
> *οὖρα βαθυρρείοντος ὑφ' εἰαμεναῖς Ὑπίοιο.*

(3) In Υ 121 we have *μηδέ τι θυμῷ̃ | δευέσθω* "animo deficiat." As *δεύεσθαι* = "to fail" does not elsewhere occur absolutely in Homer *θυμοῦ* has with some probability been conjectured, but from Ap. Rh. III. 1138 *ἐδεύετο δ' ἤματος ὥρη | ἂψ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι ἑὴν μετὰ μητέρα κούρην* it is almost certain that he read *θυμῷ̃* in Homer. The expression is a difficult one but L. & S. are certainly mistaken in taking

ἐδεύετο = "desired" with infin. after Schol.'s first explanation. Schol.'s second explanation ἐνελείπετο ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας καιρός appears correct.

(4) In Ψ 597 τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς | ἰάνθη, ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχύεσσιν ἔέρση | λήϊον ἀλδήσκοντος, ὅτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, L. Lange conjectures ἐέρσῃ and this is adopted by Mr Leaf, but the latter admits that Apollonius probably read ἐέρση from his imitation III. 1019 ἰαίνετο δὲ φρένας εἴσω | τηκομένη οἷόν τε περὶ ῥοδέῃσιν ἐέρση | τήκεται κ.τ.λ. and this surely should have considerable weight in deciding the reading. Moreover it seems very unnatural to take λήϊου ἀλδήσκ. as anything but a gen. absol. of time. I think that Mr Monro's explanation, that it is an example of "brachylogy of comparison," is the correct one.

(5) ἰνδάλλομαι. This word is found four times in Homer, each time in the sense of φαίνομαι as explained by Aristophanes on γ 246. In P 214 however the reading of Aristarchus is μεγαθύμῳ Πηλείωνι (so Ven. A) which shows that he took ἰνδάλλετο in the previous line to mean "resembled." Apollonius also has the word four times (I. 1297, II. 545, III. 453, 812) each time in the sense of "seem." From this it is almost certain he read the genitive in P. In later Greek the word is used in both senses, as Mr Leaf observes in his excellent note.

(6) It is a disputed point whether κληίς as a nautical term means *thole-pins* or *benches* in Homer. The probabilities are in favour of the former interpretation, cf. θ 37 and see Mr Leaf's note on Π 170. Apollonius always uses κληῖδες = *benches*, e.g. I. 358, 395, 399, III. 1269. For *thole-pins* he uses the post-Homeric σκαλμός (I. 379). Autenrieth distinguishes between κληίς (thole-pin) and σκαλμός in a way for which I find no authority.

(7) in Ψ 830 it is disputed whether ἐν ξυνόχῃσιν ὁδοῦ means "at the meeting-place of two roads" or "at the narrowest part of the road." Buttmann (p. 95) takes it in the latter sense and so probably did Apollonius from the phrase ἁλὸς ἐν ξυνόχῃσιν (II. 318) which Schol. rightly explains ὅπου στενοῦται ἡ θάλασσα. But Ap. also uses ξυνοχή of the meeting of two rivers IV. 629, ἄμμιγα δ' ὕδωρ | ἐν ξυνοχῇ βέβρυχε κυκώμενον.

(8) In N 707 we find *ἰεμένω κατὰ ὦλκα, τέμει δέ τε τέλσον ἀρούρης*: there *τέμει* is unique, and *τέλσον* which properly means the "headlands" or edges of the field where the plough turns on finishing the furrow (Σ 544, 547) cannot have that sense. Various conjectures have been made, the most probable being that of van Herwerden *ταμεῖν ἐπὶ τέλσον ἀρούρης*. This is adopted by Nauck, Ameis (or rather Hentze), Fick, and Mr Leaf, and it is made almost certain by Ap. Rh. where we read III. 412

τετράγυον, τὴν αἶψα ταμὼν ἐπὶ τέλσον ἀρότρῳ.

(9) Ψ 237 *πολλὴ δὲ περὶ χροΐ τέτροφεν ἅλμη*. *τέτροφεν* as intrans. is unique. In II. 738 Ap. has *περιτέτροφε* transitive, and in III. 676 *περιδέδρομεν ἄψεα νοῦσος*. From this Merkel infers with much probability that Ap. intended to censure the intransitive use of *τέτροφε* in Homer and read in l.c. *δέδρομε* which is mentioned by Schol. as a var. lect.

B. Cases in which Apollonius appears to use Homeric words in the Homeric sense whatever that may be.

(1) *ἀδινός* (or *ἀδινός*) is used in various senses in Homer, and it appears almost impossible to find one sense which will suit all the passages. In Ap. Rh. also it is used in a variety of senses, but all of them are found either in Homer or in the Homeric glosses. This is one of the words in which Buttmann finds an ignorant imitation on the part of Apollonius. Merkel after quoting his rather uncomplimentary language remarks of Apollonius "scilicet significatus vocabuli qui tunc circumferebantur ea qua solet adcuratione expressit omnes," and adds as an example of the sense of *ἡδύς* which we find in Ap. Rh. III. 1206 *ἀδινῆς μνημήιον εὐνῆς*, a reference to Eust. ad B 87, Ψ 326 "secundum *τοὺς παλαιούς*." The various glosses later than Apollonius may of course express traditions current in his time. On the other hand, some of the Homeric interpretations may have been suggested by the use of words in Apollonius and other later writers as in the case of *ἀτέμβεσθαι* mentioned below.

(2) *ἠλίβατος* (3) *τεκμαίρομαι*. To these the same remarks apply. Each separate use of these words in Apollonius is paral-

leled by some real Homeric use or some Homeric interpretation.

(4) *τηλύγετος*, a Homeric word of unknown etymology and most uncertain meaning, occurs three times in Apollonius, and each time apparently in a different sense, though in a sense found in Homer. Some think it is a technical word, as well as

(5) *κουρίδιος* "wedded, lawful" which is found several times in Apollonius and always strictly in the Homeric sense. As an epithet of *θάλαμος* in Ap. Rh. III. 1128 it resembles *δῶμα | κουρίδιον* in *τ* 579, and is not therefore a post-Homeric extension of meaning as L. & S. seem to think.

C. Cases in which the Homeric meaning of words is really extended or appears to be so, for in some instances we cannot be sure that Apollonius has not adopted some not impossible interpretation which has not come down to us. In others, however, we can hardly suppose that Apollonius thought he was giving a meaning found in Homer, even if it might be found in some gloss, but rather that he has deliberately adopted it as a mark of erudition. Thus where there are rival interpretations of Homer, Apollonius sometimes gives an example of each. In this class are to be found most of those words in the use of which Apollonius displays his "learned ignorance," according to Buttmann.

(1) *ἀγαίομαι*. Of this Merkel says "*υ* 16 cum duplici explicatione Scholl. *ἄγαν θαυμάζοντος ἢ χαλεπαίνοντος, μεμφομένου ἢ ἐκπληττομένου*. Apud Ap. I. 899 videtur esse *μέμφεσθαι*, III. 1016 *θαυμάζειν*." In *υ* 16 the sense is clearly "being indignant at," cf. *β* 67 *ἀγασσάμενοι κακὰ ἔργα*. A good example, not of real extension of meaning but of the preservation of two rival interpretations.

(2) *ἀίδηλος*. This word in Homer always means "pernicious, destructive." Apollonius has it twice in that sense, III. 1132 *ἔργ' ἀίδηλα* and IV. 1672 *ἐκ δ' ἀίδηλα | δείκηλα προΐαλλεν*. The passage in III. is evidence that in E 757, 872 Apoll. read the prae-Aristarchean *ἔργ' ἀίδηλα* where most MSS. have *καρτερὰ ἔργα*. *ἔργ. ἀίδ.* is read in both places by Ameis and in the first by Buttmann (p. 48). Apollonius has the word twice

= *ἀπροσδόκητος* which is the explanation of one Sextus ap. Porphyrium ad Λ 155, three times = unseen, and once = *ἄδηλον* "ambiguum." The last two meanings may be from the reading *ἀίδηλον* or *ἀίζηλον* in Β 318 where nearly all the MSS. have *ἀρίζηλον*. It is difficult to say which makes the best sense, but I incline to *ἀίζηλον* with Mr Leaf and Buttmann and probably Aristarchus, especially on account of the words *ὅσπερ ἔφηνεν*.

(3) *αἰζηός* "used of men and youths in the prime of life" Mr Leaf on Γ 26. It is used in this sense by Apoll. but also in a more general sense. Thus in III. 518 of youths, in IV. 268 of men simply

μήτηρ Αἴγυπτος προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν.

(4) *αὐτάγρετος*. In reference to π 148 *εἰ γάρ πως εἴη αὐτάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσιν* Hesych. and Eust. give a double interpretation, viz. *αὐθαίρετα* and *παραυτὰ ἀγρευόμενα*. The first is adopted by Apoll. in II. 326 *μηδ' αὖτως αὐτάγρετον οἶτον ὄλησθε* and the second in IV. 231 *εἰ μή οἱ κούρην αὐτάγρετον... ἄξουσιν*.

(5) *ἔκηλος* and *εὔκηλος*. Buttmann shows that this word in Homer is used only of freedom from mental disturbance and means *at one's ease*. His authority has changed the punctuation in Hes. Op. 668 so as to give the word that meaning there too, and the fact that in Hymn. Cer. 451 *ἔκηλος* is used of the stillness of an inanimate object is to him an additional proof that that hymn has no claim to high antiquity. Certainly Ap. has both *ἐκ.* and *εὐκ.* in this latter sense = "silent," but Buttmann is surely mistaken in implying that the word when used of persons in Apoll. has always this sense, for it occurs also in the Homeric sense, e.g. I. 1290, III. 1172, IV. 61, 390. There seems to be no ground for considering that Apoll.'s use is a mistaken imitation of Homer, but merely that it was a later use of which Apollonius avails himself just as Theocr. (XXV. 200) has *ἔκηλος* = idle, unemployed.

(6) *ἐπίστωρ* in φ 26 = "conscius," so Ap. Rh. IV. 16, but also in II. 872, IV. 1558 = "peritus," which is the meaning of *ἴστωρ* in Hymn. Lun. 2. Again *ἴστωρ* = "testis" (rather than

"arbiter") in Σ 501, Ψ 486, and ἐπιίστωρ has this meaning in Ap. Rh. IV. 89. See Lehrs, Aristarchus p. 109[1]. Here we appear to have an exhibition of learning on the part of Apollonius.

(7) ἐφέστιος is used by Apollonius as in tragedy in the sense of *suppliant*, e.g. IV. 703, but he also uses it in the Homeric sense of *at one's home*.

(8) ἠέριος occurs in Homer four times and in each place means "early in the morning," and Apollonius has it twice in that sense (III. 417, 915). In the sense of "through the air" he has διηέριος which may be taken from δι' ἠέρος an explanation of the word ap. Eust. A 497, Γ 7, but he also has ἠέριος = *misty, hazy*, of something seen at a distance, in I. 580, IV. 1239. Of this meaning there is certainly no trace in Homer. Merkel thinks it is possible there may be a reference to some explanation of the word Ἠερία as a name given to certain countries (see Hesych. I. p. 113).

(9) The use of θοός in the sense of *sharp* hardly requires any justification. Even Buttmann admits that θ. had this sense in the oldest period of the language, though in Homer we find only the verb θοῶσαι (for in θοαὶ νῆσοι the epithet is almost a proper name), and acquits Apollonius of misunderstanding Homer. The ideas of swiftness and sharpness easily pass into each other, cf. the confusion of meaning between ὀξύς and ὠκύς.

(10) "καρχαλέος, Φ 541 reddi solet a lexicographis κατάξηρος Ap. Rh. IV. 1442: alteram explicationem simul expressit Verg. Georg. III. 434 [asper siti, of a snake]. Ap. Rh. III. 1058 fere pro καρχαρόδους; κάρχαρον τὸ τραχύ Schol. K 360" Merkel.

(11) νοσφίζομαι in Homer is used absol. or with gen. of person "turn away from," or with acc. of person or thing "forsake." In Apollonius the word has this last sense with acc. of person or thing, but also has a new meaning "deprive of," with acc. of person and gen. of thing, e.g. IV. 182, 1108, so Eur. Suppl. 153. Again it is found in the active form "separate from," so in Hymn. Cer. 158 and in tragedy, cf. Ap. Rh. II. 793. In IV. 36 we have ἀπονοσφίζειν. The last two meanings are post-Homeric.

[1] The references are to the third edition.

(12) *περιπέλομαι* in Σ 220 = "surround," so Ap. Rh. III. 1150 but in III. 130 = "come round, overreach," just as *περιέρχομαι* is found in Attic Greek.

D. We next come to words which Apollonius uses in a different sense from Homer, and has not examples of the Homeric sense.

(1) *ἀζηχής* in Hom. means either "incessant" (Ameis or "piercing" of sound (Autenrieth), cf. Δ 435, O 25, σ 3. We find however in Ex. Magn. 22. 47 a third meaning recorded *σκληρόν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἄζης* and the same in Schol. B to O 25. Apollonius who uses the word only once, II. 99 *κορύνας ἀζηχέας*, has it in this sense, as is plain from inf. 115 *ἀζαλέῃ κορύνῃ*.

(2) *ἀτέμβεσθαι* is an Odyssean word, found twice in Ψ and in Λ 705 = ι 42, and meaning "to be deprived of" and in the act. "to maltreat or perplex." In Apollonius it occurs several times and always = "to blame," e.g. II. 56, where Schol. says *τὸ ἀτέμβειν οἱ νεώτεροι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ στερίσκεσθαι ἤκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέμφεσθαι*, and again on II. 1199 *ἀτεμβόμενος. οὐχ ὁμηρικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ στερισκόμενος*. It is true Schol. Ven. on Ψ 445 has *ἀτέμβονται· μέμφονται*, but this seems to have been suggested by a later usage, perhaps by that of Apollonius himself, as it is an impossible meaning for Homer there.

(3) *διερός* in Od. in the two places ζ 201 and ι 43 means, in the first probably "fugator" and in the second "fugax," and is connected with *δί-εσθαι* (Lehrs, pp. 48—54); but in later writers beginning with Hesiod it has the sense of *wet, moist*, and none other, and seems as clearly to be connected with *δι-αίνειν*. Apollonius has it three times, and only in this sense. It is true Schol. on ζ 201 has *ζῶν ἐρρωμένως καὶ ἰχμάδος μετέχων*, but this is probably concocted from the well-known later sense of the word.

E. Finally, we find words used by Apollonius in a different sense from that which they have in Homer, but only with less precision and in a less technical sense. Here there seems to be some colour for the opinion that Apollonius may have misunderstood Homer, but such an opinion is by no means necessary.

(1) *παραβλήδην* in Δ 6 prob. = "sideways," i.e. ironically,

and is so taken by Ameis, Autenrieth and Monro, and (2) *ὑποβλήδην* in A 292 means "interrupting" (cf. *ὑββάλλειν* T 80). Both these words in Apollonius mean merely "in answer." *παραβλήδην* is found eight times in Apoll. and is even used (IV. 1608) of a bit rattling *in answer to* the horse which champs it. There is no ground for saying, as L. & S. do, that in Ap. Rh. II. 448 *παραβλήδην* = "by way of retort" and that Apollonius so took the Homeric passage. The interpretation *ἐξ ἀντιβολῆς* is quoted by Schol. on Ap. Rh. III. 107 and IV. 1563 as that of Palamedes. *ὑποβλήδην* is found three times in Ap. Rh. and cannot in any case be taken to mean "interrupting."

(2) *σχεδόν* is used in Homer only of place, except possibly M 53, but in Apollonius it is used of time as well as place, e.g. III. 947, IV. 1591. So the compounds *αὐτοσχεδόν*, *ἐπισχεδόν*, *παρασχεδόν*, are used both of place and time. Of these Homer has only *αὐτοσχεδόν* and that always = *comminus*.

(3) *δουπέω* is used in Homer not of any death, but of that "quae fit cadendo et cum strepitu" Lehrs, p. 103. In Apollonius it occurs twice, I. 1304, IV. 557, of dying generally, though in the latter place it may also be taken strictly in the Homeric sense, and once (II. 1056) means "to make a clashing noise" as in Xenophon (Anab. I. 8. 18).

(4) *φράζω* in Homer "numquam est dico, sed indico" Lehrs, p. 84 according to Aristarchus, but in Apollonius it is common in both senses.

(5) The use of *μεγαίρω* in Ap. Rh. IV. 1670, *Τάλω ἐμέγηρεν ὀπωπάς* in the sense of "bewitch" is unique, and Buttmann says, p. 409, "we have a new proof how blindly or arbitrarily these poets acted in forming their usage of words from the old Epic." Arbitrarily perhaps, but not blindly, and that Apollonius formed his usage of words exclusively from the old Epic is an assumption that cannot be proved as I have tried to show above. There is no Homeric use of *μεγαίρω* which could be mistaken for this. In I. 289 and III. 405 Apollonius uses the word in Homeric constructions.

(6) On the other hand Apollonius occasionally uses a word in a more precise sense than Homer, e.g. *πεδόθεν*, which in

Ap. Rh. I. 1199, III. 1316 is simply "from the ground" and so Eur. Tro. 98. In *ν* 295

μύθων τε κλοπίων οἵ τοι πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν

it is figurative and in Hes. Theog. 680 it = "from the foundations" *funditus*, of Olympus. If the literal sense had been in Homer and the metaphorical in Apollonius Buttmann might have pointed out the ignorance of Apollonius.

To sum up the previous results I maintain

(1) We have no right on *à priori* grounds to suppose that Apollonius is ignorant of the Homeric usage.

(2) Apollonius imitated Homer as a rival and there is therefore no reason to believe that he would confine himself to the Homeric uses of words, but would freely avail himself of tragic and later uses. As a fact we find

(3) that some of the Homeric words used by Apollonius are no more vague than the use in Homer;

(4) that many of the Homeric words are used in the sense of Homeric glosses and may conceivably have that meaning in Homer;

(5) that many more though not used in the Homeric sense are not so intended to be used, but either preserve rival interpretations of Homer and so give an air of erudition, or are used in the sense they bear in tragedy and later writers;

(6) that others are obviously not used in the Homeric sense, but

(7) that some words are used in a less technical sense than the Homeric, and so give colour to the opinion that they are ignorantly used by Apollonius.

R. C. SEATON.

ON THE IAMBIC TRIMETER.

Mr Platt's theory of the structure of the iambic trimeter is so ingenious that it may find acceptance with those who have not time to thresh out the subject thoroughly. As however his very interesting article in Vol. XVIII. No. 36 of the *Journal of Philology*, has not convinced me of the fallacy of my own account of the structure of the senarius, namely that it is composed of two iambic tripodies, I take the opportunity of putting in a defence of my view, which was only baldly and somewhat obscurely stated in my Dissertation on Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, published June, 1889. I then wrote (p. 10) "the double dochmius stands to the senarius in a somewhat similar relation to that in which the pentameter stands to the hexameter, though of course we do not find distichs of alternate senarius and double dochmius. It may be objected that we seldom or never find iambic tripodies, to which all the rejoinder possible ἐν τῷ ὕδατι is that there is a similar dearth of dactylic tripodies."

Now on the reasonable assumption that in the early days of regular iambic metre two irrational arses (*i.e.* the ictus-less parts of feet) must not come together, an iambic tripody would necessarily take one of the two following forms.

A. ⏑̲ – | ⏑ – | ⏑̲ – ‖

B. ⏑ – | ⏑̲ – | ⏑ ⏑̲ ‖

The senarius then is simply A + B, the junction of the two tripodies being almost invariably concealed by the caesura. On this view the admissibility of an irrational quantity in the arsis of the first, third, and fifth feet is fully accounted for,

while at the same time, the existence of the caesura is explained as bearing a fundamental relation to the structure of the verse. Yet again, one variety of A is

A′. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | – – ‖.

The composition A + A′ gives us one form of scazon iambic, which I regard as the original form; *e.g.*

δὸς χλαῖναν Ἱππώνακτι, κάρτα γὰρ ῥιγῶ.

Subsequently, I fancy, irrational quantity was extended to the fifth foot by infection or analogy. It is perhaps unnecessary to offer any defence for regarding *trimeter* as a misnomer, until it is shown that the term 'trimeter' rests on better authority than the term 'pentameter.' That the senarius should come to be regarded as a trimeter seems natural, considering the existence of iambic tetrameters and the frequent occurrence of iambic dimeters. Iambic tripodies are to be found occasionally, as I have shown in the above-mentioned Dissertation, and we find one pair in the *Carmina Popularia*, No. 34 (Bergk),

λίθῳ τε κοὐ λίθῳ βάλοι τε κοὐ βάλοι.

Cf. Pind. *Frag.* 75 (Bergk, 4th Ed.), 16,

ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μίγνυται.

Parenthetically, I ought perhaps to mention that in the above-mentioned Dissertation, p. 9, I drew a marked distinction between the metrical division of a verse, and the musical division of the same into bars[1].

[1] I wrote as follows as to "metres which are distinguished *inter alia* by the verses almost always beginning with the *initial arsis* (or ictus-less part of a foot), such metres namely as iambi, dochmii, bacchii of the normal type ⏑ – –, and anapæsts." "It leads to nothing but confusion and misunderstanding, to call such an initial arsis 'anacrusis' and to regard it as analogous to the non-essential, occasional *anacrusis* often found before, and external to, falling measures such as choreic and dactylic measures. I am aware that anacrusis is not seldom found before every verse of a choreic poem. It however belongs, I believe, to the very elements of prosody to recognize that the choreus and the iambus differ in essence, in movement, in expression, and in orchestric origin; and the same may be said of the dactyl and the anapæst. I therefore adhere to the old fashion of including in the

I venture to consider that Mr Platt's view of the structure of the senarius is less satisfactory than mine for the following reasons.

1. The suggested system of epitrites, of which the simplest and most primitive is conjectured to be

$$\smile | - \smile - - | - \smile - - | - \smile -,$$

is not found in extant Greek poetry, so that its proposer has to go to Persia for an approximate illustration. On the other hand, iambic tripodies are, as I have said, to be found in Greek lyric poetry.

2. The caesura is not accounted for, except I suppose, as having been found æsthetically appropriate. I bring the caesura into a fundamental relation with the structure of the verse.

3. The relaxation of the epitrite from $- \smile - -$ to $- \smile - \smile$ is comparatively rare; while the irrational length of arsis in choreic and iambic systems of various kinds is common.

4. The lyric epitrite with long syllables now in the proportion of three, and now in the proportion of two, to the short syllable, appears to me less likely to have suggested itself as a serviceable metre for purposes of recitation, than a metre in which the proportion of long to short was uniformly two to one.

5. Mr Platt's explanation of the scazon, viz.

and a rest,

is, I think, less simple and intelligible than my own. My view that the iambic rhythm is a *mounting* rhythm makes the scazon ending in two spondees quite intelligible as a verse which ends in an extremely decided climax, the length of the arsis increasing the ictus of the fifth foot, and still more the ictus of the sixth foot. This seems the place to mention my

foot the initial arsis, or ictus-less part, with which a mounting or gliding rhythm (anapæstic, iambic, &c.) begins, and which is essential to, and determinative of, the rhythm. It adds nothing to and in no way affects our comprehension of Greek metres to be told that ancient musicians, as well as modern composers, subjected initial arsis and true metrical anacrusis to the same musical treatment as regards division into bars."

view of the *Rule of the Cretic*. If it be transgressed, the ictus of the fifth foot is increased, so as to endanger a descent to the sixth foot instead of the requisite rise in intensity of ictus.

With regard to my second reason, namely that relating to caesura, I must not say anything about the double incision of tragic verses such as

ἀνδ- | ρῶν γὰρ ὄντων | ἔρκος ἐστὶν | ἀσφαλές.

For Mr Platt draws a distinction between sung iambics and recited iambics. But he seems to accept the *Carmina Popularia* as evidence with respect to sung iambics, and here we find the following lines of which I regard the scansion on Mr Platt's system to be intolerable.

No. 12 (Bergk).

Ἥ- | λιος Ἀπόλλων, | ὁ δέ γ' Ἀπόλλων | ἥλιος.

No. 21, 4. Λευκ- | ὰν ἀφ' ἵππων | εἰς θάλασσαν | ἅλατο.

No. 34, 1. Αἰ- | νός τίς ἐστιν, | ὡς ἀνήρ τε | κοὐκ ἀνήρ.

No. 41, 16. μικ- | ρὰ μέν ἐστι, | ῥᾳδίως μιν | οἴσομεν.

No. 46, 11. ὅ- | μοιον, ὥσπερ | οἱ φίλοι μὲν | ἀστέρες.

31. μά- | λιστα μὲν δὴ | κόλασον αὐτός· | εἰ δὲ μή.

Yet again, the concurrence of the end of a word with the end of the first foot, line after line consecutively, does not seem natural. As to the double incision, it is rare in Pindar's Odes. It occurs in the third Olympian, where however, the anacrusis and first foot of the fourth strophic line appear to form an independent versicle. In the ninth Pythian, v. 99, we find

φαμὶ Νίσου τ' | ἐν λόφῳ τρὶς | δὴ πόλιν τάνδ' | εὐκλείξαι.

In this line however, the effect of the incisions is mitigated by two elisions and by the sense divisions falling after φαμὶ and λόφῳ and by δὴ going closely with τρὶς. Double incision also occurs in the third Isthmian.

The hephthemimeral caesura cuts the middle foot and also the verse into two equal (or nearly equal) portions, a process which I should not like to pronounce admissible unless I could support it by illustrations from other metrical systems. This caesura presents itself in three consecutive lines in No. 8 of the

Carmina Popularia which Mr Platt himself quotes, p. 165. The first of these three lines is

ἁπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες | αἰόλῳ μέλει.

Mr Platt naturally proposes to alter *αἰόλῳ* into *αὐλίῳ*, seeing that if this song refers to the iambic metre, and *αἰόλῳ* be genuine, Mr Platt's contention is manifestly untenable, as the epitrite is emphatically Dorian.

My explanation of the admissibility of irrational long arsis in the first, third, and fifth feet of the senarius appears to me to be no better than Mr Platt's, but just as good. I think my explanation of the *Rule of the Cretic* has slightly the advantage, as it is not "dictated by the ear." I conceive the modern Teutonic ear to be an extremely untrustworthy guide as to the niceties of ancient Greek rhythm. If my own ear has any sensitiveness with respect to the *Rule of the Cretic*, it is not because I have any auricular appreciation of its essential propriety, but because its violation by myself used to be associated with suffering or mortification. In point of fact it is quite an acquired taste in my case.

I must acknowledge my obligations to Mr Platt for having collected evidence that the iambic senarius was originally a dance rhythm. I endorsed Mr J. F. Rowbotham's view that it was a dance rhythm *inter alia* because it was in triple time and used in the lyric of tragedy, but I had no time or space to attempt any proof of this point.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

Od. *a.* 135, *γ.* 77.

ἵνα μιν περὶ πατρὸς ἀποιχομένοιο ἔροιτο.

The hiatus is suspicious, and seeing that *ἔροιτο* is not the ordinary Odyssean form, it is certain that we should read *ἀποιχομένοι᾽ ἐρέοιτο.* (*ἀποιχομένου ἐρέοιτο* would hardly have been altered to the text.) This goes a long way to prove that we should read the genitive in *-οιο*, elided, in *all* similar cases.

So in *a.* 405 read

ἀλλ᾽ ἐθέλω σε, φέριστε, περὶ ξείνοι᾽ ἐρέεσθαι.

γ. 348. *ὥς τέ τε᾽ ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀϜείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ.*

Bekker corrects *ἢ—ἠὲ* to *ἦ—ἠδέ*. It certainly seems necessary to read *ἦ* for *ἢ*, as to say "either *ἀϜείμων* or *πενιχρός*" is much as if one should say "either rich or wealthy." But it is not by any means clear that *ἠὲ* ought to be altered to *ἠδέ* for, to keep the same illustration, "as if from one rich *or* wealthy" is just the same as "as if from one rich *and* wealthy." There is no sufficient reason for deserting the MSS., and we should read *ἦ—ἠέ*[1]. Of course *ἠὲ* and *ἠδὲ* are confused; so there is a variant *ἠδὲ* for *ἠὲ* in *δ.* 45: *ὥς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης*; here again it makes no difference to the sense which we read, and it becomes a question of the best authority.

In *ρ.* 37, *τ.* 54 the best authority seems to be for reading

Ἀρτέμιδι Ϝικέλη ἠδὲ χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

[1] From the awkward position of *ἦ* in *γ.* 348 I am half disposed to suspect the original to have been *ὥς τέ τεο παρα* with lengthening by metrical ictus. Compare corruption of *νεογενέας* (Aristarchus) to *νεηγενέας* (Alexandrine tradition).

I cannot see any difficulty in saying "like Artemis and Aphrodite." Indeed it might be argued that it is more logical to say "like A and B" than to say "like A or B," as if the poet could not make up his mind which was the better simile. Or again ἠδὲ may have very possibly been used as a disjunctive when the Homeric poems were composed, as I have formerly observed on Θ. 349. Compare also the disjunctive use of *que* in Virgil etc.

η. 213. καὶ δ' ἔτι κεν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ κακὰ μυθησαίμην.

MSS. vary between μᾶλλον and πλείον', the majority in favour of πλείον', but M has μᾶλλον, so that there is little odds if any in authority. But taking the line by itself it is clear that μᾶλλον is the better reading; for πλείον' could never have been changed to μᾶλλον, but would be a very natural gloss on it. And the more difficult reading is, as often, justified by a closer view of the passage. The whole runs as follows:

οὕς τινας ὑμεῖς Ϝίστε μάλιστ' ὀχέοντας ὀΐζὺν
ἀνθρώπων, τοῖσίν κεν ἐν ἄλγεσι Ϝισωσαίμην.
καὶ δ' ἔτι κεν καὶ μᾶλλον—

Yet πλείον' is printed by divers editors!

η. 299—301.

ξεῖν', ἦ τοι μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναίσιμον οὐκ ἐνόησε
παῖς ἐμὴ οὕνεκά σ' οὔ τι μετ' ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶν
ἦγεν ἐς ἡμέτερον· σὺ δ' ἄρα πρώτην ἱκέτευσας.

It seems necessary to read σὺ δέ Ϝε πρώτην ἱκέτευσας. Compare ζ. 175: σὲ γὰρ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας | ἐς πρώτην ἱκόμην. Such loss of Ϝε is too familiar to need illustration.

θ. 54. πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν· ἀνά θ' ἱστία λευκὰ τάνυσσαν.

So the best MSS. and common sense. The crew who are to bring Odysseus on his way to Ithaca have made everything ready on board ship; in 55 they go on to moor her ὑψοῦ ἐν νοτίῳ, and go back themselves to spend the night ashore. The editors, most if not all, go astray after πέτασσαν, of inferior MS. authority, and leave the ship moored with all her sails spread at the mercy of any squall, not a soul on board! This curious seamanship comes of the unlucky ten-

dency in both MSS. and editors to reduce every phrase to the same Procrustes pattern; which tendency I have remarked on in a note on I. 310.

The same line recurs δ. 783 in the same context. But luckily it is there certainly an interpolation, being omitted by ADGHL and Eustathius, and bracketed by La Roche. M observes *περιττὸς δοκεῖ*, though reading it in the text. Now ADGHL all have *τάννσσαν* in θ. 54, as well as IKMV. The odd thing is that IKM have the right reading in θ. 54 and yet interpolate the line with the wrong reading in δ. 783. (Whether V has the latter or no does not appear from La Roche.) But it is clear that the interpolation was introduced into our MSS. from a text in which θ. 54 had been already corrupted. In fact the Alexandrines read *τάννσσαν* in θ. 54 and did not read δ. 783 at all.

The facts about IKM must be explained as follows: (1) I goes with sometimes H sometimes N, but in the earlier books is practically identical with N. La Roche, speaking of N, says: "Codex chartaceus (*α*. 1—*ζ*. 190) cum codice I omnia fere habet communia." It is not odd therefore that I should agree with N in giving the interpolated δ. 783, whereas in θ. 54 it goes with H. (*ζ*. 191—*ι*. 540 are omitted altogether by N so that it cannot be quoted for the reading of θ. 54.) (2) As to M, in the first place δ. 783 and θ. 54 occur in passages written by different hands in this MS., and in the second M appears to have been copied from two or more MSS. or else from one with different readings appended, for M often notes variants. So it is not very odd in this case either. (3) Something of the same kind must have occurred with K also, though it is, I assume from La Roche's silence, in the same hand throughout, and though I know nothing particular about it except that it has a "mirus consensus" with S. However S here is apparently wrong in both places, whereas K is right in one of them.

As further proof of the genuineness of *τάννσσαν*, it may be added that the author of A. 486 evidently had θ. 54, 55 in his head, and he gives *τάννσσαν* in a different sense. The line is in a part of A. confessedly later than the *Odyssey*.

The meaning of *ἀνατάνυσσαν* I take to be "furled"; they stretch up the sails on the mast so as to be ready to be spread if necessary, but do not leave them spread so as to catch the wind, which would be the meaning of *πέτασσαν*. As a matter of fact they do never unfurl them at all, for they *row* Odysseus home (*ν*. 78) and do not sail.

It may be objected that we hear nowhere else in Homer of furling sails, that the sails are taken off the mast altogether and stowed away. Not if the mast is up; coming to land it is no doubt usual for them to take off the sails *and put the mast down*. But here the mast is up. And in one other passage by good luck we do hear of furling sail, *γ*. 10, 11:

> *οἳ δ' ἰθὺς κατάγοντο ἰδ' ἱστία νηὸς ἐϜίσης*
> *στείλαν' ἀείραντες.*

Compare *π*. 353: *ἱστία τε στέλλοντας*.

The middle *στέλλεσθαι* however seems to mean to take down the sails. A. 433:

> *ἱστία μὲν στείλαντο, θέσαν δ' ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ,*
> *ἱστὸν δ' ἱστοδόκῃ πέλασαν.*

Here again taking down the sails goes with taking down the mast. If they are here furling sail, what is the meaning of *θέσαν ἐν νηΐ*?

θ. 285 etc. *οὐδ' ἀλαὸς σκοπιὴν εἶχε*—

So Aristarchus; Alexandrine tradition *ἀλαοσκοπιήν*, not much of a word. But even *ἀλαὸς σκοπιὴν* is very odd; one can only say that *ἀλαὸς* is used adverbially. Accordingly Zenodotus wrote (conjectured?) *ἀλαὸν*, Nauck conjectures *ἄλιον*, Cauer *ἀλαοῦ*. For the last it is a recommendation that ΑΛΑΟΣΚΟΠΙΗΝ would represent in the oldest MSS. either *ἀλαοῦ σκοπιὴν* or *ἀλαοσκοπιήν*.

Taking this hint let us put back the reading of Aristarchus into the old alphabet. ΑΛΑΟΣ ΣΚΟΠΙΗΝ. This might be what Aristarchus gives, or it might be *ἀλαῶς σκοπιήν*. Instead of "*ἀλαὸς* used adverbially" the adverb itself. I conclude then that we should either abide by Aristarchus or read *ἀλαῶς*; and for myself I prefer the latter as appearing far more Homeric.

ι. 187. *ἔνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἐνίαυε πελώριος ὅς ῥα τὰ μῆλα*
οἷος ποιμαίνεσκεν.

So the best MS. authority; the other reading, supported by H and some others, is *ὅς ῥά τε*. Now *τὰ* clearly will not do and editors rightly reject it. But though *τε* is correct with an iterative, yet *ῥά τε* is scarcely ever found in the *Odyssey*.

Read *ὅς ῥα Ϝὰ μῆλα*, for *Ϝὰ* was certain to become *τὰ* and is at least as likely to have become *τε* also as *τὰ* would have been.

κ. 97—99. *ἔστην δὲ σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών.*
ἔνθα μὲν οὔτε βοῶν οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν φαίνετο Ϝέργα,
καπνὸν δ' οἷον ὁρῶμεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς αἰσσοντα.

It is amazing that nobody has tripped over the plural *ὁρῶμεν*. "*I* went up to look out and *we* saw." When Odysseus gets to Circe's isle he certainly goes up alone (*κ.* 145 etc.) and so his language would lead you to suppose here. Let us see how he goes on (*κ.* 100):

δὴ τότ' ἐγὼν ἑτάρους προΐειν πεύθεσθαι ἰόντας.

Not a word of his coming back from the *σκοπιή* to the ship, as he does in Aeaea. In fact the whole trouble is caused by the interpolation of 97; remove that and it all goes smoothly. "We came to the Laestrygons. There I alone moored my ship outside the harbour. [*ἔστην δὲ κ.τ.λ.*] There we saw no tillage but only smoke. So then I sent my companions to find out about the inhabitants."

The obnoxious line comes from *κ.* 148. *There* look and see how beautifully it fits into its place, how it is led up to and how followed: *καί μοι ἐϜείσατο καπνός*, and no impertinent plural. Here it enters abruptly and exit worse.

I presume it has been supposed that *ὁρῶμεν* is singular in sense. A likely story! Where are the other instances? N. 257 is desperate, see Leaf *ad loc.*; *διδώσομεν* in *ν.* 358 is plural in sense beyond a doubt (compare 360)[1].

[1] *ἡμέτερος* however is used for *ἐμός*; see O. 224, Π. 244, *π.* 442, *Hymns* iii. 267.

ν. 157. *ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες*
ἄνθρωποι, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει (πόλι') ἀμφικαλύψαι.

This is from the recommendation of Zeus to Poseidon, how to treat the Phaeacians. "I think your best plan," says he, "would be to turn her (the ship) into a stone like a swift ship, that all men may marvel, and to cover their city with a great mountain." But Poseidon, as is notorious, does not take this advice; he turns the ship into a stone, it is true, but harms the city not at all. Aristophanes accordingly read *μή* for *μέγα*. "Turn the ship into a stone, but don't, as you suggest (152), harm the city." By this means he gets sense, but unsatisfactorily; the *μὴ δέ* should be much more clearly in antithesis to the other clause about the ship. And to repeat a phrase with such an alteration in it is hardly Homeric. A more serious objection perhaps is that Aristarchus distinctly combated this reading and that there is no authority for it in our MSS., so that it appears to be only a conjecture of Aristophanes.

There is another difficulty in the text. "That *all men* may marvel," says Zeus. He should have said: "all Phæacians." If this be hypercritical, it is at any rate fair to notice that *ἄνθρωποι* in 158 is quite different from *ἀνθρώπων* in the line of which it is virtually a repetition. Poseidon, when he asks advice, ends with:

ἀπολλήξωσι δὲ πομπῆς
ἀνθρώπων, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλι' ἀμφικαλύψαι.

The *ἀνθρώπων* here is correct, meaning men of *all other* nations; it denotes exactly the opposite of *ἄνθρωποι* in 158; in one line "not-Phæacians," in the other "Phæacians."

To repeat phrases is genuine saga style, whether Greek or other; to repeat them with such changes—? with *ἀνθρώπων* the opposite of *ἄνθρωποι*, and *μέγα* changed to *μή*, if we are to make any sense at all—?

In fact, 158 is a repetition of 152, not in the original but introduced by rhapsodes. Such repetitions, generally harmless, are numerous without doubt in Homer, but it is not often that we can bring them to book. The finest instance of a palpably wrong one, really sublime in its stupidity, is *ι.* 483 (cp. 540).

ν. 187. ὃ δ' ἔγρετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
εὖδων ἐν γαίῃ πατρωίῃ, οὐ δέ μιν ἔγνω
ἤδη δFὴν ἀπεών. περὶ γὰρ θεὸς ἠέρα χεῦε
190 Πάλλας Ἀθηναίη κούρη Διός, ὄφρα μιν αὐτὸν
ἄγνωστον τεύξειε, Fέκαστά τε μυθήσαιτο,
μή μιν πρὶν ἄλοχος γνοίη Fαστοί τε φίλοι τε,
πρὶν πᾶσαν μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίην ἀποτῖσαι.
τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοFιδέα φαινέσκετο πάντα Fάνακτι.

Such is the received text, revealing, as I cannot but think, a misconception of the whole passage. But opinions were divided in antiquity. Aristarchus, as I suppose from the silence of our authorities, and certainly nearly all MSS., read 190 as I have written it, but Aristophanes read *αὐτῷ*, I believe rightly, "*καὶ τὸ 'μιν' ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης τίθησιν*," says Didymus. This does not seem to be a pure conjecture, for N also gives *αὐτῶ* (*sic*) which is recognized too by CHK.

Now does *αὐτὸν* make sense? "Odysseus woke from sleep in his father-land and knew it not, for Athene shed a mist round about" (not round *him*) "that she might—make *him* unknown"? Surely not. "And tell him everything, lest people should recognize him before the suitors were punished. Therefore all things seemed strange to their lord." Where is the connexion?

Let us clear the way first by explaining 192 and 193. The *μὴ* of 192 does not depend on *τεύξειε* or on the whole preceding sentence, but on *μυθήσαιτο* and its subordinate clause alone. "That she might make *μιν* unknown (and tell him all things, to make sure that he should not let his wife and others know him before the suitors had atoned for all their transgression). Therefore etc." In fact, "tell him all lest" practically means "advise him not to be recognized until etc." And it is to get an opportunity for giving this advice that she prevents his knowing Ithaca, and comes in disguise that he may question her.

"But why all this to do?" asks some friend from over the Border. "She could have given him a sight of good advice without this manœuvre." Of course she could. But Homer is

here employing a poetical device; his real reason is quite different from that which he puts forward so mendaciously and with such an air of good faith. It was not indeed to give advice that Athene brought cloud on to the mountains; it was to introduce a scene of the most enchanting beauty, grace and pathos, of a tenderness unknown to any but the divine poet of the *Odyssey*, mixt with a subtle humour equally his own. This giving of a sham reason for something really brought in on purely poetical grounds is one common enough in Greek poetry, especially in the dramatists, who were so much plagued with that unmanageable chorus of theirs; Aristophanes makes merry over it in *Acharnians*.

My second objection to *αὐτόν* is that it is otiose. Why "him *himself*"? "She disguised Ithaca that she might disguise him himself." What a magnificent trope! It is almost worthy of Ovid or Cowley; who could recognize in this paltry quibble the "grand style" of Homer? But perhaps he would be going about to disguise himself as well as kings and islands.

Does *αὐτῷ* then make sense? Most certainly. "She shed a mist round about that she might make it (Ithaca, as Aristophanes says) unknown to him, and might tell him all things, lest etc. Therefore Ithaca *did* seem strange to her lord."

If any one should object that *μιν* in 192 is certainly Odysseus, let him note that *μιν* in 188 is certainly Ithaca. The unemphatic use of oblique cases of *αὐτός* is common enough at the end of a line.

There are reasons enough to account for the change of *αὐτῷ* to *αὐτόν*. First, the neighbourhood of *μιν* which might attract *αὐτῷ* into its own case; compare for example Π. 104, where, whether δϜεινὴν or δϜεινὸν be the right reading, the *δεινὴ* of ADHS Townl. Mosc. 2 is wrong, being due to *φαεινὴ πήληξ* hard by. Secondly, misconception of the two lines 192, 193, for if they *did* depend on the clause *ὄφρα τεύξειε* it would be necessary to read *αὐτὸν*; but they do not. Thirdly, there was from ancient times a tendency to add a sort of spurious *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* at the end of a line if the next begins with a vowel, which might have something to do with *αὐτῷ* becoming *αὐτὸν* here. Take for example

Δ. 400 where A and Aristarchus read *ἀμείνων* for *ἀμείνω*, next line beginning *ὥς*; I. 503, where AD Townl. Vrat. b give an absurd *ὀφθαλμῶν* for *ὀφθαλμώ*, the next line beginning *αἵ*; I. 602, where the right reading is surely Cobet's *ἐπὶ δώρῳ*, but where Aristarchus with HL read *δώρων*, and the other MSS. correct to *δώροις*, next line beginning *ἔρχεο*. Note how strongly the false *ν* is supported in these three passages, and that the tendency is clearly older than Aristarchus; in general editors should beware of it; in the three cases given it has caused some searching of heart. An instance of false *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* where the next line begins with a consonant is to be found in Ψ. 821, where an inconstruable *ἀκωκήν* is magnificently supported by A again and the Leipsic group besides other MSS., insomuch that if I did not believe in the tendency here pointed out I should feel almost compelled to accept the accusative, construable or not. Instances of the contrary may of course be produced; the most striking I know is ξ. 278 where GM give *ἵππῳ* for *ἵππων*.

I do not believe that the real *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* was added originally whether the next line began with a vowel or not. This cannot be proved; what is certain is that the Alexandrines did add it before a vowel but not before a consonant, except with *ἦεν*; it is amusing to see modern editors yielding still to the old temptation and adding it before consonants.

For change of *αὐτῷ* to *αὐτόν* compare also X. 110, but the evidence there is not quite conclusive for *αὐτῷ*. I believe that here too it was because *αὐτῷ* is followed by a vowel (*ὀλέσθαι*) though in the middle of a line this time.

ξ. 142 *οὐδέ νυ τῶν ἔτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, ἱέμενός περ*
ὀφθαλμοῖσι ϝιδέσθαι ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

But the best authority is for *ἀχνύμενος*, not *ἱέμενος*, and La Roche justly says this is preferable, "si v. 143 abesset." I think we are not reduced to choosing between ejection of 143 and retention of *ἱέμενος*. It is quite possible to put a comma after *ἀχνύμενός περ*, and translate; "I lament not so much for them, grieved though I be,—that I should behold them with my eyes in my fatherland." The construction is undoubtedly very

loose, but the idea of seeing his parents is implied in the words τῶν ὀδύρομαι (compare the two preceding lines), and this leads to the ungrammatical but nevertheless logically correct addition of line 143.

It is evident how easily in this case ἀχνύμενος would be changed to ἱέμενος. But if ἱέμενος were right, how could we account for the better support of ἀχνύμενος by the MSS.? Only by comparing X. 424 (referred to by La Roche), a poor defence. It is not even clear, I think, whether that part of X. is earlier or later than the *Odyssey*; that it is not part of the original *Achilleid* seems to be admitted by all. And I cannot see that it throws any light on ξ. 142; one might argue from it either way one pleased.

The curious χ. 232 is very like:

ἄντα μνηστήρων ὀλοφύρεαι ἄλκιμος εἶναι ;

Here ἄλκιμος εἶναι is added after ὀλοφύρεαι just as loosely as Fιδέσθαι after ὀδύρομαι.

ξ. 381 ἤλυθ' ἐμὸν πρὸς σταθμόν· ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἀμφαγάπαζον.

ἐμὸν πρὸς σταθμὸν is only read by AN and Eustathius; all the others have ἐμὰ πρὸς δώματ'. Where does this variant come from? It is wrong, for δώματα could not be applied to the κλισίη of Eumaeus, but can it be a corruption of σταθμόν? There is an obvious reading which would naturally give rise to both of ours:

ἤλυθ' ἐμὸν πρὸς δῶμα· ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἀμφαγάπαζον.

δῶμα is used of the κλισίη in 395.

On the other hand π. 66 has ἤλυθ' ἐμὸν πρὸς σταθμόν without any variant. Either the reading of π. 66 was also πρὸς δῶμα, and has there been completely obliterated by the other, or as I think more probable the two phrases were originally different and the true reading σταθμὸν in π. 66 suggested the change in ξ. 381.

π. 85 κεῖσε δ' ἂν οὔ μιν ἐγώ γε μετὰ μνηστῆρας ἐῴμι.

Much the best authority is for ἐάσω, and not only that but ἐῴμι is a suspicious form, the Homeric being ἐάοιμι. Better read ἐάσω therefore. It may be either future indicative or aorist subjunctive, both uses being Homeric.

π. 162. *ἀλλ' Ὀδυσεύς τε κύνες τε* Ϝ*ίδον, καί ῥ' οὐχ' ὑλάοντο.*

Read *καί* 'Ϝ' *οὐχ.* For *ῥά* has several times replaced 'Ϝ, and an object is wanted for *ὑλάοντο.* Compare *π.* 4, 5 :

Τηλέμαχον δὲ περίσαινον κύνες ὑλακόμωροι,
οὐδ' ὕλαον προσιόντα.

In *π.* 172 read :

ἦ, καὶ χρυσείῃ ῥάβδῳ 'Ϝ' *ἐπεμάσσατ' Ἀθήνη.*

It is ridiculous to say : "She spoke and touched," without saying what. Moreover in the similar *ν.* 429 we have :

ὣς ἄρα μιν φαμένη ῥάβδῳ ἐπεμάσσατ' Ἀθήνη,

with an object to *ἐπεμάσσατο* properly provided. I can't indeed help thinking it very likely that originally *ν.* 429 was identical with *π.* 172, and got changed for this very reason that *ἐπεμάσσατο* had nothing to govern.

π. 306. *ἠμὲν ὅπου τις νῶι τίει καὶ δέδ*Ϝ*ιε θυμῷ.*

ὅτις που van Herwerden. But is it necessary to transpose the words ? May we not read : *ὅ πού τις ?* The *ὅ* and the *τις* are two distinct words, and there is no reason why they should not have such a trifling word as *που* between them.

ρ. 221. *ὃς πολλῆς φλιῆσι παραστὰς θλίψεται ὤμους.*

But far the best MS. authority is for *πολλῆσι*, which we had better keep. *πολλῆσι*, not *πολλῆς*, is the regular Homeric form, but the scribes did not know this and cannot have been led into error by it. It would be quite possible, however, for them to know that *φλιὴ* was long in later Greek, and this might lead to the reading *πολλῆς.*

If we knew that *φλιή* was always long in Homeric times, this of course would never do. But we know nothing of the sort ; the best authority is in favour of its being short in this passage, and it does not occur again in Homer. It is long in the Alexandrine poets, as often as it is found, but that proves nothing for the quantity in Homer. For *ἶσος* is long in Homer, but common in the Alexandrines, and if *φλιή* was common the Alexandrines quoted as using it (Bion, Theocritus, Apollonius)

would be certain always to use it long, that they might avoid having a short vowel before φλ. It cannot therefore be regarded as proved that it was anything more than *common* with them, and may quite well have been short in Homer. But if it was short, the short vowel preceding it is no difficulty, for the word could not otherwise be got into a hexameter. It is worth while to recall what a terrible pother has been raised about the quantity of Ϝαλόντε in E. 487, and now it turns out to be perfectly correct.

ρ. 284. τολμήεις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπονθα.

A very interesting and instructive line from a textual point of view. A (first hand), DIL (first hand) read:

τολημέις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κακὰ πέπονθα.

The other MSS., except GM, correct to κακὰ πολλά, and the unsuspicious editors print it. And if it were not for GM what better could one do? But GM here as elsewhere have preserved the true reading:

τολμήεις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ δὴ πολλὰ πέπονθα.

κακὰ is a gloss on πολλὰ and has thrust the δὴ out; being itself then put in front of πολλά. Can anything be more obvious? Yet La Roche with all this under his eyes actually writes: "altera igitur lectio erat ἐπεὶ δὴ πολλὰ πέπονθα," and prints the other manifestly wrong reading in his text!

The moral of this is that if we find a line in Homer which can only be made to scan by transposing words, we may have to put up with that as a δεύτερος πλοῦς, but may be pretty sure we have not got hold of the true reading. I am greatly confirmed by this in my belief that the received reading in γ. 418 is wrong, whatever the perhaps indiscoverable original may have been. I will quote another very remarkable and puzzling case. In η. 89 all the MSS. read:

ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ ἐν χαλκέῳ ἔστασαν οὐδῷ.

σταθμοὶ δ' ἀργύρεοι "correxit Barnes," as he flatters himself. But how was σταθμοὶ δ' ἀργύρεοι ever corrupted into the other? The matter is not so simple as all that; indeed the more I think of it the more obscure does it become.

Our MSS. represent the Alexandrine tradition. Was *this* then the Alexandrine tradition? It seems difficult to believe, well nigh incredible. And yet the line will in a confused fashion scan. There was no difficulty I imagine to the Alexandrine mind in making the first syllable of σταθμοὶ short in Homer; I suspect not a few of us might swallow it, and certainly neither Quintus Smyrnaeus nor the author of the Orphic *Argonautica* would have hesitated about it. And as for δὲ short before σταθμοί have we not vowels short before Σκάμανδρος and Ζάκυνθος? Of course that does not really defend the line, but to an Alexandrine it might seem to defend it. And we know that they could scan φίλε ἑκυρὲ δεινός τε, and a great many other things that are really quite absurd. So that it is not at all impossible that ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοί was actually the Alexandrine tradition.

If it was not, we have two hypotheses to choose between. Either all our MSS. of the Odyssey have inherited this mistake, *not* an accredited reading but a pure blunder, from a common ancestor, a thing which no one will believe, for they are always believed to belong to several very ancient families; or else each of these families has made the same blunder, a thing equally incredible. (N is not in evidence, unluckily, for this book, but its family is.)

Whatever the truth is, and I incline to believe that ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ really was the tradition, it is evident that this correction of Barnes's is not very satisfactory. For however the text of the MSS. was arrived at, it can hardly have been from σταθμοὶ δ' ἀργύρεοι.

There are some other things to be taken into consideration. The next line begins: ἀργύρεον δ' ἐφ' ὑπερθύριον, and it is evident that the first word of this line may have had an influence on the first word of the line before.

Secondly, in the whole of this description the adjective is put first, not second (lines 86, 88, 90, 91, 100).

Thirdly, why is the ὑπερθύριον mentioned after the σταθμοί instead of after the θύραι? Still more why is the κορώνη? Is it not very odd to say: "Golden doors barred the palace within, and pillars stood on a bronze threshold, and there was a

golden door handle"? Remembering again that both 89 and 90 in our text begin with the word "silver," and that two lines beginning with the same word would be eminently liable to transposition, does it not look as if 90 ought to precede 89? Much as I protest against transposition of *words* I cannot deny that *lines* have been comparatively often transposed in the *Odyssey*. It is absolutely necessary to transpose δ. 517, 518, and 519, 520 (Bothe), ξ. 63 and 64 (Bekker), τ. 55 and 60 (Bothe), and in χ. 37, 38 the MSS. vary in the order. On the other hand the transposition of γ. 304, 305, though commonly adopted, is needless.

Out of this sea of confusion the following seems to emerge reasonably clearly. That the original was χάλκεοι or χρύσεοι δὲ σταθμοί, that this was corrupted to ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ somehow or other owing to the next line beginning ἀργύρεον, and that finally the two lines were transposed when they both began with the same word.

I am far from supposing that this view is free from very serious difficulties. With a text preserved by many rhapsodes and different authorized editions, how could such a change have been made? How could the unmetrical reading have so completely supplanted the other that none of the Alexandrine critics seem to have known of it at all? I can only say that there are many corruptions in Homer open to the same criticism, and that these corruptions must be older than the authorized editions apparently or they could not have been perpetuated. And that after very long consideration this is the best I can make of the line; now that attention is called to it I hope some one will come forward to settle the question who is better qualified to do so.

Somewhat as κακὰ has turned out δὴ in ρ. 284, so has τὸν extruded πῶς in ν. 129. ACGMNQV read:

μαῖα φίλη, πῶς ξεῖνον ἐτιμήσασθ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

DEHIKLS πῶς τὸν ξεῖνον. Modern editions, all or at any rate most, give τὸν ξεῖνον, omitting πῶς. What La Roche means by saying "articulus hoc loco necessarius videtur," I do not understand.

Again, the phrase *δύω κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο* has several times suffered a like fate. In *β*. 11 this is the reading of ABDIKMNPQSV, but La Roche says: "vulgo *κύνες πόδας ἀργοί*." In *ρ*. 62 *δύω κύνες ἀργοί* is read by only AN, D having *ἅμα τῷ γε κύνες ἀργοὶ ἕποντο*. In *υ*. 145 *all* the MSS. have *τῷ γε κύνες πόδας ἀργοί*, but M (first hand) omits *πόδας*. I hold it to be certain that *πόδας* is here a gloss to explain *ἀργοί* and has turned out *δύω*; you may see the process going on; and that those editors are right who read *δύω κύνες ἀργοί* in all three passages.

τ. 72. *ἦ ὅτι δὴ ῥυπόω, κακὰ δὲ χροὶ Ϝείματα Ϝεῖμαι ;*

ὅττ' οὐ λιπόω AN, *ὅτι οὐ λιπόω* HI, Eustathius and the Roman edition, *γρ. ὅτι οὐ λιπόω* M. If *ῥυπόω* is not a gloss on *οὐ λιπόω*, there never was a gloss yet; one would have thought the veriest tyro must have seen his way through this, yet as far as I know the old Roman edition is the only one in which the true reading is printed. The correct form is of course *λιπάω*; read then:

ἦ ὅτι οὐ λιπάω, κακὰ δὲ χροὶ Ϝείματα Ϝεῖμαι.

Add that HMN are the three best MSS. of the *Odyssey*, and A probably the most valuable after these. It is not even as if *λιπάω* were an unknown word elsewhere, though it is only used here by Homer. But *ῥυπάω* is far commoner and *οὐ λιπάω* cannot be a gloss upon it. Perhaps a difficulty about scansion has prevented the acceptance of the true reading; if so, it is purely imaginary, for, as *ὅτι* cannot be elided, hiatus after it is lawful.

τ. 316. *ξείνους αἰδοίους ἀποπεμπέμεν ἠδὲ δέχεσθαι.*

It is true that *αἰδοίους* can be construed, but (1) seeing that the point insisted on in the passage is the way in which Odysseus treated *ξεῖνοι* and *not* the character of the *ξεῖνοι* themselves, (2) comparing *τ*. 243: *αἰδοίως δ' ἀπέπεμπον ἐϋσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηός*, and (3) considering that ΑΙΔΟΙΟΣ when the poems were first written down would represent both *αἰδοίους* and *αἰδοίως* and that the proximity of *ξείνους* would make the former certain to be taken in preference, I have no vestige of a doubt that *αἰδοίως* is here the true reading.

φ. 193. *βουκόλε καὶ σὺ συφορβέ, Fέπος τί κε μυθησαίμην, ἢ αὐτὸς κεύθω ;*

αὔτως L, *αὕτως* N. Read *αὔτως*: "shall I conceal it just as it is? (keep it secret as it is now)." *αὐτός* really makes no sense, for it is not possible to get "keep to myself" out of it. ΑΥΤΟΣ would represent both in the old alphabet and would be more likely transliterated as *αὐτός* than as *αὔτως*. Cp. Leaf on Σ. 198, where the opposite seems to have happened.

I have no doubt, from the way in which the loss of the companions of Odysseus is related, that the poet means them to be actually changed into sea-birds (μ. 418).

οἱ δὲ κορώνῃσιν Fίκελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν
κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο, θεὸς δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον.

So Hermes transforms himself into a λάρος (ε. 51) and

τῷ Fίκελος πολέεσσιν ὀχήσατο κύμασιν Ἑρμῆς.

Athene into a swallow, χ. 240,

ἔζετ' ἀναΐξασα χελιδόνι Fεικέλη ἄντην.

How could the crew be "borne on the waves like gulls"? Does a man in the water look like a gull, or whatever *κορώνη* was? *Fείκελος* or *Fίκελος* always in the *Odyssey* means more than such a very vague resemblance.

Certainly even if Homer did not mean this he ought to have meant it, for it is a highly appropriate idea that that ill-fated crew should roam the sea for ever in another form. So do the crew of Hudson, as petrels, as we know on high authority; a prettier idea than the flying Dutchman. So were the companions of Diomede also changed into birds.

Against this must be set the following considerations. (1) Homer says nothing about it but in the two lines quoted. (2) The Greeks do not seem to have so understood it, for this transformation is nowhere else mentioned that I know of, and Ovid would have been sure to put it in his *Metamorphoses*. (3) The same two lines recur (ξ. 308, 309) where they cannot surely be so taken. But those two lines are clearly there

repeated by mistake from μ. 418. For Dr Leaf on O. 263 well says that "repetitions may be generally suspected unless they are either put into the mouth of a messenger who recites the words delivered to him, or come under the head of formal lines belonging to the regular Epic stock in trade." And in this particular case the words *θεὸς δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον* are very inappropriate, for the people spoken of are not "returning" anywhere.

I cannot think these objections sufficient to overthrow what seems to me far the better way of taking the passage on its own merits.

Amid the innumerable beauties of the nineteenth *Odyssey* the following may have escaped notice. Odysseus is the only person who addresses Penelope by the title:

ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδα' Ὀδυσῆος.

See τ. 165, 262, 336, 583. He and the inspired prophet Theoclymenus (ρ. 152). What a delicacy this shews! And still more astonishing in the poet of such a rudimentary stage of morals is it to find that Odysseus, who is actually extolled for his capacity for lying, the grandson of Autolycus who surpassed all men therein, nevertheless shrinks from saying a word to Penelope which is untrue. At first he refuses to tell her anything, putting her off with excuses; when he is compelled to answer he tells her and her alone the truth:

ἀτὰρ ἐρίηρας ἑταίρους
ὤλεσε καὶ νῆα γλαφυρὴν ἐνὶ Ϝοίνοπι πόντῳ
Θρινακίης ἄπο νήσου ἰών· ὀδύσαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ
Ζεύς τε καὶ Ἥλιος· τοῦ γὰρ βόας ἔκταν ἑταῖροι.
οἳ μὲν πάντες ὄλοντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ.
τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ τρόπις νεὸς ἔκβαλε κῦμ' ἐπὶ χέρσου
Φαιήκων ἐς γαῖαν, οἳ ἀγχίθεοι γεγάασιν,
οἳ δή μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὣς τιμήσαντο,
καί Ϝοι πολλὰ δόσαν.

This is all true; he might as well have told it to Eumaeus, but to him he prefers to tell anything but the truth. It must

be confessed he tells Penelope herself a grain of truth to a bushel of falsehood, but he only does what he is compelled to do. We are surely justified in believing this to be no accident. No delicacy is beyond the reach of the author of those two miraculous lines of Euryclea (τ. 474):

ἦ μάλ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι, φίλον τέκος, οὐδέ σ' ἐγώ γε
πρὶν ἔγνων, πρὶν πάντα Fάνακτ' ἐμὸν ἀμφαφάασθαι.

πάντα and ἀμφί! She had only *touched*, not seen, a scar twenty years old, and yet recognized Odysseus; justly may it be exclaimed of her: "O dignitosa coscienza e netta." Besides even without the scar she saw the likeness to Odysseus which escaped even Penelope, and knew his voice and form and feet:

ἀλλ' οὔ πω τινά φημι FεFοίκοτα ὧδε Fιδέσθαι
ὡς σὺ δέμας φωνήν τε πόδας τ' Ὀδυσῆι FέFοικας.

His dog and his nurse alone pierce the disguise.

Besides the full phrase ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη κ.τ.λ., Odysseus and Odysseus alone addresses Penelope ὦ γύναι. Mr Ruskin has somewhere remarked that the word *wife* is the great word in which the Latin and English conquer the Greek and the French. Yet when one hears Odysseus begin the very first words he says to his wife ὦ γύναι, οὐκ ἄν τίς σε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν νεικέοι, one may well feel that the victory was Cadmean which has forbidden us to translate that marvellous line at all. By the double meaning of γύναι alone was it possible to gain an effect unparalleled in all the range of poetry, an effect impossible for Shakespeare, to fill up in a single word, considering the situation in which it is uttered, all the measure of human emotion. The more it is thought over the more depth of pathos does it reveal. Odysseus, while with his craft he keeps up his impenetrable disguise, yet allows himself this supreme satisfaction of calling Penelope *wife*, while appearing to her and others to call her *lady*. And as every speech of his begins ὦ γύναι, so does she always begin with ξεῖνε, till at length overcome by the magic of his words she adds a climax to all this unsurpassable beauty by at last adding φίλε to ξεῖνε.

ξεῖνε φίλ', οὔ γάρ πώ τις ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος ὧδε
ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα. (τ. 350.)

Then comes the washing of his feet, wonder upon wonder, and there a modern poet would have stopped. But a Greek has no such idea of ending with a climax. The storm of passion is allowed to subside in a *coda* of the most serene and exquisite beauty, containing among other things the loveliest description of the nightingale extant, and throughout this Homer returns to the interchange of *γύναι* and *ξεῖνε*; Penelope shrinks back again from the familiarity she had given way to. Never before, be sure, had she called a stranger *φίλε*.

And when they meet next, the music has changed into strange keys and harmonies never heard again. To represent their meeting at all after the nineteenth book might have seemed a task insuperable to the boldest artist, but not only is there no disappointment felt, no decline of interest perceptible, on the contrary the unsurpassable nineteenth is surpassed by the twenty-third. From the introduction in which the outburst of enthusiasm from Eurycleia is repelled by the despairing incredulity of Penelope three times[1], every time more faintly, ending in 67 and 68 with the refrain that had rung through her thoughts now for ten years returning the last time, till at last she consents to go and see—she cannot bring herself to say Odysseus but *ὃς ἔπεφνεν*,—through the wonderful passage in which the two sit in the fire-light, neither daring to be the first to break the silence, through the last test imposed by Penelope to the lines when the long obstinacy at length breaks suddenly into unspeakable tenderness—all this makes the strangest and most sacred scene of all, of which it is impossible to write without tears. And as its strangeness is so largely mingled with its beauty, so the very terms by which they address one another are *δαιμονίη* and *δαιμόνιε* (166, 174); now that Odysseus might say *γύναι* with its full meaning, he will not, nor can Penelope longer call him *ξεῖνε*. For Odysseus is half offended and Penelope dare neither call him by his name or as a stranger. Fully convinced she names him for the first and last time in this poem of poems in 209.

[1] Music alone can translate these things into another form worthy of them. Only in the slow movement of Beethoven's Concerto in G, where the appeal of the piano gradually calms to rest the fury of the stringed instruments, and conquers them, is there anything to be compared with this.

Anyone who can read the wretched rump botched on to the *Odyssey* by one of the meanest of Greek epic poets, after he has read this wonderful scene, and can then believe it to be from the same lips, is one not greatly to be envied.

E. 356. *ἥμενον, ἠέρι δ' ἔγχος ἐκέκλιτο καὶ ταχέ' ἵππω.*

There are two objections raised to *ἐκέκλιτο*: (1) that the idea of a spear leaning on mist is not Homeric, (2) the violent zeugma (see Leaf). Now these objections both assume that *ἐκέκλιτο* means "was leant," and if it might mean something else the objections vanish.

It is common for *κεκλιμένος* to be used of land adjoining water. "The word seems properly to be used of land *sloping* to the water's edge," says Dr Leaf on E. 709 ("where the broad ocean *leans* upon the land"). Hence it is actually used of islands, *αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται* (δ. 608). In fact it is used of land *surrounded* by water, for "islands which lean upon the sea" would be nonsense. If then it actually came to mean "surrounded" we can make good sense of E. 356 and the zeugma disappears altogether. "His spear and horses were surrounded by mist."

It is one of the most extraordinary coincidences of etymology that our "surround" has been arrived at in much the same way. It is derived from the French "suronder" used of water overflowing land. Milton wrongly connected it with "round" and so enriched the language with a word that has almost entirely banished the old English "compass," or encompass. (In the Bible for instance and in Shakespeare "surround" never occurs.)

Z. 4. *μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης.*

With reference to Dr Leaf's restitution of the above from Aristarchus, the following passages may be of some interest.

ὁππότε γαῖα χανοῦσα παρ' εὐύδρου στόμα λίμνης
παῖδα (Daphne) *διωκομένην οἰκτίρμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ.*
Nonnus xxxiii. 214.

Ἰσμαρίδος μεθέηκε παραπλώων στόμα λίμνης.
Coluthus 211.

ὁ δὲ χεῖρα τανύσσατο δεῖξε δ' ἄπωθεν,
φωνήσας, πόντον τε καὶ ἀγχιβαθὲς στόμα λίμνης.
Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1572.

This phrase *στόμα λίμνης* differs, it will be observed, from the Homeric in that the two words remain distinct. (The only other author quoted for the Homeric form by Liddell and Scott is Strabo; also *στομάλιμνον* from Theocritus iv. 23.) But I cannot help thinking the later writers had the line from the *Iliad* in their eyes; Apollonius combines with it a rare word which he took from the *Odyssey*[1]. We may add Tryphiodorus 326: *καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον*, Tryphiodorus appearing to consider the *στομαλίμνη* an estuary at the mouth of the Simoeis. It is therefore at least a remarkable coincidence that Dr Leaf should write: "*στομαλίμνη* probably means a marshy estuary, not of the Skamandros, but of some adjacent stream such as is now formed by the Dümbrek-su, *which it has been proposed by Schliemann to identify with the Simoeis.*"

I. 537. *ἦ λάθετ' ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν· ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ.*

Dr Leaf explains *οὐκ ἐνόησεν* to mean "neglected deliberately," and so it must be taken, but it is very difficult to explain it, nor is any similar phrase quoted. We cannot defend it on the analogy of *οὔ φημι*, etc.; all the passages quoted by Mr Monro (*H. G.* § 360) are statements of fact, whereas here the meaning is not "he thought he didn't," but "he intended not to do it."

I am inclined always to suspect crasis of *ἦ οὐ* very strongly, and am glad to find myself in agreement with Herr Meurad on this point. In all other passages, he well observes, the *ἤ* may be omitted; here however I cannot adopt with him the reading of Zenodotus, *ἐκλάθετ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε*, which has all the air of being only a conjecture, not a genuine tradition, and which spoils the force of the line; we want to keep the meaning: "whether he forgot or whether he did it on purpose; anyway he was grievously misled."

I propose then: *ἦ λάθετ' ἠὲ νόησεν.* The way in which

[1] Plato also uses *ἀγχιβαθής*, like many other poetical words, in one of his latest dialogues.

negatives are put in where they ought not to be, and left out where they ought to be in, is very curious but indisputable. I have pointed out previously an instance of false insertion of *οὐκ* in *κ.* 193, and will add two more. In N. 658 *ἔνιοι*, says a Scholiast, *πιθανῶς μεταγράφουσι "μετὰ δ' οὔ σφι πατὴρ κίε,"* where the reason for the change was that the *πατὴρ* was killed before. In I. 453 a certain Aristodemus emended *τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα* into *τῇ οὐ πιθόμην οὐδ' ἔρξα*, being shocked at the morality of Phoenix. Indeed this speech of his shocked the Greeks in another place, for directly afterwards four lines, 458—461, were omitted bodily in the Alexandrine tradition for a similar reason. Again in P. 330 the senseless *ὑπερδέα* is due to a religious objection to *ὑπὲρ Δία*, restored by Dr Brocks. *ζ.* 129 has been interpolated through a feeling of modesty unknown to Homer, the *πτόρθον* of 128 being only the suppliant's branch; I regret my ignorance to whom this observation is due. In *μ.* 290 the profane and very remarkable *θεῶν ἀϜέκητι Ϝανάκτων* was altered to *φίλων ἀέκητι ἑταίρων* in the edition of Zenodotus (absolute nonsense or little better), a reading recognized by D, and three MSS. have *ἰότητι* for *ἀέκητι*; here therefore the profanity was got rid of in two ways. Here also is Zenodotus caught Bowdlerizing, and we can see now why he *πιθανῶς μεταγράφει* in I. 537 *ἐκλάθετ' οὐδ' ἐνόησεν.* We can in the same way see why the other correction, *ἢ λάθετ' ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησε*, was admitted; it is a clumsier way of doing what Zenodotus did, and the interpolator, probably a rhapsode, meant "either he did not think of it or he did not think of it," saving the poet's piety at the expense of his common sense and in truth of his metre into the bargain.

This suggests some further reflexions. We see that in both I. 537 and *μ.* 290 Zenodotus made somewhat *violent* changes, *which were not accepted and do not actually occur in a single MS.* We see that the slight changes, (1) by insertion of *οὐκ*, (2) by reading *ἰότητι* for *ἀέκητι*, were in one case received so as to annihilate the original, and in the other made some way towards this, being in three MSS.; if *ἰότητι* had prevailed the subtlest ingenuity could never have suspected it to be wrong. Therefore we may feel sure that the changes made in Homer

were in the main exceedingly slight verbally (apart from interpolation of whole lines and passages), and consequently that the way to restore the original is by making slight changes back again and absolutely refusing to look at anything at all violent.

Talking of interpolation and moral feeling, I am reminded that the oath of Agamemnon in T. 258—265 is obviously interpolated to save the morals of the Homeric heroes. That such an oath was not exacted in the original *Achilleis*, and would not have been believed by Achilles and the rest if it had been, is obvious to anyone who considers the Homeric morality or indeed the Spartan customs to a very late date. As the speech of Phoenix contains three passages so immoral as to have been either changed or ejected (I. 453, 458—461, 537), and yet is one of the latest additions to the *Iliad*, the moral feeling which dictated the interpolation of T. 258—265 looks to belong to a very late time indeed.

I. 225. *χαῖρ' Ἀχιλεῦ· δαιτὸς μὲν ἐϝίσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς.*

Aristarchus read *ἐπιδεύει*, and surely this is the right sense, though I do not wish to adopt his reading. But I can see no objection to *ἐπιδεύεις* in the same sense. Perhaps ι. 540 is not quite conclusive as to this use of the active *δεύω*, but Σ. 100 certainly is:

ἔφθιτ', ἐμεῖο δ' ἔδευσεν ἀρῆ' ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι.

The explanations of *ἐπιδευεῖς* appear to me incredible. How can we supply either *ἐσμέν* or *εἰσίν*? They demand not only a verb but a subject to that verb into the bargain, and it is no excuse to quote *φασίν*, which only requires a subject, for a construction which requires both subject and verb. I do not think any parallel to either has been produced from Homer.

It is possible that Aristarchus only explained it so and that it has been put down as his reading by mistake.

N. 622 proves nothing about this line: there it seems better to have only a comma after 621, and nothing need be supplied for *ἐπιδευεῖς*.

K. 352. *ἡμιόνων αἳ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραί εἰσιν.*

So La Roche with the best MS. authority. It follows that

the Alexandrines took *γὰρ* here as = *γ'ἄρ*. This seems good evidence for so taking *γὰρ* in K. 127 as Hentze suggests; the two passages mutually support each other. For myself I have no doubt whatever that this is correct; the wonder is that we do not continually find *γ'ἄρ* in Homer, instead of its being one of the eccentricities of the late author of K.

O. 716. *Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρυμνῆθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν, οὐχὶ μεθίει.*
Π. 762. *Ἕκτωρ μὲν κεφαλῆφιν ἐπεὶ λάβεν, οὐχὶ μεθίει.*

In O. 716 *οὔ τι* is given by Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 1089, in Π. 762 by LS Lips. And Zenodotus in both read *οὐκ ἐμεθίει*. "Aristarchus," says La Roche, "*οὐχὶ* poetae abiudicavit, quid autem his duobus locis scripserit, *οὐκὶ* an *οὔ τι*, non liquet." But from the variants between *οὐχὶ* and *οὔτι* and the reading of Zenodotus I feel certain that the original was *οὔ ϝε μεθίει*; the steps from *οὔχ ἑ μεθίει οὐκ ἐμεθίει* and to *οὐχὶ* would be small enough, though of course *οὔ ἑ* is read in our texts as a rule. In Ω. 214 for *οὔ ἑ "αἱ κοιναὶ"* read *οὔ τι*, whereby we see that the version of LS Lips., which I believe to be that of Aristarchus, may be fairly derived from *οὔ ἑ*.

P. 269. *ἠέρα πολλήν.*

"*πουλὺν* Mor. Cant. *πουλὴν* S. *πολλὴν ἢ μᾶλλον πουλὺν* Eust."

Surely we are bound to take the more difficult *πουλὺν* here, especially as *πουλὺς* is actually used as a feminine in K. 27, δ. 709, and the very phrase *ἠέρα πουλὺν* is found in Θ. 50. In these three passages the verse preserved the true form, in P. 269 it is at the end of a line and was easily corrupted.

Σ. 247. *πάντας γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος.*

"ἔλε H. Vrat. b. d. A. ἔχε A." And in the similar T. 14, quoted by La Roche for another purpose, ἔλε is undisputed. It is here better suited to the meaning. Confusion of χ and λ is common in Homer as elsewhere; compare variants on N. 772, Π. 510, Φ. 72, Ψ. 219, Ω. 696, 735, *α.* 95, *γ.* 372, 453, *δ.* 2, 66, 759, *θ.* 372, *ι.* 387, 548, λ. 302, *ο.* 7, *ν.* 85, ἔχειν and ἑλεῖν being especially liable to it. In Ψ: 219 the MSS. vary between ἔχων and ἑλὼν, La Roche adopting the latter. But ἔχων is better

suited to the passage, and if A reads *ἑλὼν* it also recognizes *ἔχων*, whilst *ἔχων* is given by the Leipsic group.

Σ. 528. *τάμνοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ*
ἀργεννέων οἰῶν, κτεῖνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας.

πῶυ μέγ' οἰῶν Zenodotus. "*πώεα μήλων* Apoll. Soph. 150, 14, Cram. An. Ox. III. 255, 30." These variants cry aloud that *πώε' οἰῶν* was the original (the priority of this reading in A. 678 is due to Dr Leaf, whose note on Σ. 4 I had overlooked when I proposed it). Here Dr Leaf observes that Zenodotus must have omitted 529. Yes, if 529 was as we now have it. But not only Zenodotus but the other variant is to be reckoned with. Either 529 should be omitted by us, for the reading of 528 is clear, or, which I think much more likely, 529 has been altered owing to *καλὰ* cutting out *οἰῶν* in 528. Perhaps originally it ran:

πώε' οἰῶν
ἀργεννέων καλῶν, or *κάλ' ἀργεννάων*.

Other instances of *οἰῶν* for *οἰῶν*, the trisyllabic form for *ὀϜιῶν* being the correct one, are *πῶυ μέγ' οἰῶν* (Λ. 696, O. 323, *μ.* 299), where we should of course read *πῶυ οἰῶν*, for *υ* cannot be elided and so there is no objection to the hiatus. Next come two highly suspicious cases since they form spondees in the fourth foot:

ἐν καλῇ βήσσῃ μέγαν οἰῶν ἀργεννάων (Σ. 588).
μυελὸν οἷον ἔδεσκε καὶ οἰῶν πίονα δημόν (X. 501).

But both are in late passages, the latter in a notorious one. In λ. 402, *μ.* 129, *ω.* 112, the word is again in the fourth foot; read in the first and third *καὶ οἰῶν* for *ἠδ' οἰῶν*, in the second *τόσ' οἰῶν* for *τόσα δ' οἰῶν*, comparing lines of a similar pattern which omit the *δ'*, e.g. *ξ.* 101. In *ω.* 112 D and L (two good-for-nothing MSS. unluckily) give *καὶ ὄϊς καὶ πίονας αἶγας*, which may be another way of getting over the strange scansion of *οἰῶν* or may be the true reading, afterwards corrupted to the pattern of λ. 402, as often must have happened; it can hardly be a mere blunder, though D and L are often agreed in variants, so that they can only be fairly counted as one MS. Finally in

ι. 448 read *ἔρχε' ὀϊῶν*, in *ξ.* 100 *πώε' ὀϊῶν* again, in *υ.* 142 *κώεσ' ὀϊῶν.*

The ease with which it is thus possible to restore so clearly such a number of passages, and the good reason hereby given for corruption owing to the strange quantity of the word, are arguments of immense weight in favour of Dr Leaf's suggestion. Let anyone look at the endeavours otherwise made to get rid of the spondaic *οἰῶν* and see how they violate every canon of criticism. Only in one single instance that I know of is any attempt made to shew why the hypothetical original was corrupted, yet these critics transpose words, take easy readings from bad MSS., nay, at last in *ι.* 448 one of them picks out *ἔρχεο* from two second-rate MSS., and *ἀρνῶν* from two *others* no better, and combines them into *ἔρχεο Fαρνῶν*! No wonder sober readers prefer the old Alexandrine version, bad as it is, to this sort of thing.

One line remains, *μ.* 266, *οἰῶν τε βληχήν*, of which I will speak hereafter. I remarked in my note on Λ. 678 that the scansion of *ὀΐω* was similar to this of *ὀϊῶν* at the end of a line. We see now that *ὀϊῶν* = ⏑ – – is only found at the end or before the bucolic diaeresis; so are these far the commonest positions for *ὀΐω* = ⏑ – –, which hardly occurs in any other place.

Υ. 109. *λευγαλέοισι Fέπεσσιν ἀποτρεπέτω καὶ ἀρειῇ.*

I am sorry to have to reopen the question as to the meaning of *λευγάλεος* in this line, but I believe there is a fatal objection to translating it "sorry," and that Heyne was right in saying it meant "asper, atrox." For there is no other line in Homer in which *Fέπεα* have a general epithet of this kind applied to them; for instance *μειλίχια Fέπεα* means "that division of words which is *μειλίχιος*," *not* "words which are *all μειλίχια* as contrasted with deeds." So here it is not Homeric to say that *λευγάλεα Fέπεα* means "words which are *all* sorry compared with deeds," for that is what it comes to. The context makes it impossible to take it otherwise; "such sort of words as are sorry" would be the exact reverse of what the sense requires, yet that is what should be the meaning if *λευγάλεος* here means *sorry* at all.

Now for *λευγάλεος* = *asper, atrox.* If anyone doubts that

this is good Epic (as I blush to say I did in my hot youth) let him look up Apollonius Rhodius iv. 1671, Quintus Smyrnaeus i. 262, 311, ii. 239, 485, iv. 328, viii. 9, xi. 452. Quintus is a better authority than most on Epic usage; he must have got his materials from the old Epic poetry which followed Homer, and appears familiar with the sense of *λευγάλεος*. This being so, and the opening of Υ being unquestionably late, it seems that the word got this sense at a later time than the best Epic period, and that is all that can be said against it.

Υ. 282. *ἔστη, κὰδ δ' ἄχος οἱ χύτο μυρίον ὀφθαλμοῖσι.*

κὰδ δ' ἀχλὺς χύτο Bentley, *κὰδ δ' ἄρ' ἄχος χύτο* Hermann. Bentley's suggestion involves a very awkward use of *μυρίον* to which Φ. 320, quoted by Dr Leaf, affords no real parallel. I think that *κὰδ δέ Ϝ' ἄχος χύτο*[1] gives a better explanation of our text. It is perfectly certain that this must have become *κὰδ δὲ ἄχος* or *κὰδ δ' οἱ ἄχος*; it did not become the latter as we see; then *κὰδ δὲ ἄχος* would very easily become *κὰδ δ' ἄχος οἱ*. The passages quoted by Dr Leaf amply defend *ἄχος* here in my judgment, and it seems too strange a word to have superseded *ἀχλύς*.

But this is not all. Three passages are commonly given which are supposed to be like Bentley's reading. On examination it appears that they are all quite different. In E. 696 and Π. 344 *ἀχλὺς* covers the eyes of a hero who is *killed*, in Υ. 321 *ἀχλὺς* is poured by Apollo over the eyes of Achilles that he may not see Aeneas. Now in our present passage nobody is killed and no temporary blindness of any kind is brought on; the meaning is simply that Aeneas was exceedingly disgusted. So that if *ἄχος* is odd and "hardly to be paralleled" (though I think it is) by P. 591 and δ 716[2], it turns out that *ἀχλύς* is not to be paralleled at all.

The following passage from an undeservedly neglected poet has never been adduced that I know of:

μέλαινα δέ οἱ περὶ κρατὶ
νὺξ ἐχύθη· στυγερὸν δὲ κατὰ βλεφάρων πέσεν ἄλγος.
Quintus Smyrnaeus, xii. 400.

[1] For *κὰδ δέ Ϝοι ἄχος*.

[2] Add ω. 315.

I do not think that ἄλγος ought here to be changed to ἀχλύς, but regard it as a phrase modelled on our present passage or some other old epic now lost.

Sophocles also imitates this use:

ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης.
Ajax, 706.

Φ. 204. δημὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐπινεφρίδιον κείροντες.

"The most delicate morsel of all is the fat about the kidneys. By eating this they believe that they acquire a part of the slain person's strength, and so far as I could understand, this was even more true of the kidneys themselves. For according to a widespread Australian belief, the kidneys are the centre of life."

C. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 272.

Having met with this reference to the habits of savages in Northern Queensland, I applied to Mr Frazer, to see whether his unparalleled anthropological stores could throw any more light on the question. He referred me at once to Professor Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, from which I give two extracts; the whole passage is worth looking at.

"From this complex of fat parts the fat of the kidneys is particularly selected by the Arabs, and by most savages, as the special seat of life" (page 360, note).

"Now it is precisely this part of the victim, the fat of the omentum with the kidneys and the lobe of the liver, which the Hebrews were forbidden to eat, and, in the case of sacrifice, burned on the altar" (page 360).

It is clear then that the reason why the poet speaks tauntingly of the "eels and fishes" busying themselves especially about the fat of the kidneys is because he regarded this as the seat of life, "the most delicate morsel." It is just such a train of ideas as when Tennyson writes:

"And on thy ribs the limpet sticks,
And *in thy heart* the scrawl shall play."

The heart in poetical language corresponding to the Homeric φρένες, which is just "the complex of fat parts," the "omentum,"

referred to above. The identification of these parts with the life is a common superstition, not specially Homeric. And like the Hebrews the Greeks burned the fat in sacrifice.

X. 4. *τείχεος ἆσσον ἴσαν σάκε' ὤμοισι κλίναντες.*

What is the meaning of this manœuvre? "How it could serve in an advance is by no means clear," says Dr Leaf, "as the soldiers' right arms would be impeded." The solution is to be sought by comparison of M. 137:

οἱ δ' ἰθὺς πρὸς τεῖχος ἐΰδμητον βόας αὔας
ὑψόσ' ἀνασχόμενοι ἔκιον μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ.

The attacking party raise their shields above their heads to prevent missiles from the wall above injuring them, and this must be meant by X. 4 also.

Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus xi. 358:

καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα κύδιμοι ἄνδρες
κείνου τεχνήεντι νόῳ ποτὶ μῶλον Ἄρηος
ἀσπίδας ἐντύναντο, βάλον δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήνων,
θέντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλῃσι.
367 *καθύπερθε δὲ Τρῳϊοι υἷες*
βάλλον χερμαδίοισι...πολλὰ δὲ δοῦρα...
πήγνυντ' ἐν σακέεσσι.

This expanded description is very likely modelled on some old epic poet; at any rate it is the Homeric idea. Again in the same book, 452:

σφετέρου δὲ καρήατος ἔμμεναι ἄλκαρ
ἀσπίδα θεὶς καθύπερθεν, ἀνήϊε λυγρὰ κέλευθα.

This does not agree with the other two passages where we find *σάκε' ὤμοισι κλίναντες*, Λ. 593, Ν. 488; in them it indicates "some sort of rudimentary phalanx or *testudo*," not however, like the ordinary *testudo*, used in attacking a city, but as a formation of defence on the battle field. Such a formation is actually called a tortoise by Nonnus, xxii. 180:

καὶ ἣν καλέουσι μαχηταὶ
μιμηλὴν σακέεσσιν ἐπυργώσαντο χελώνην·

ἔγχεϊ μὲν στατὸν ἔγχος ἐρείδετο, κεκλιμένη δὲ
ἄσπις ἔην προθέλυμνος ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀσπίδι γείτων, etc.,

and the shields are not raised above the head at all.

We must distinguish accordingly between two uses in Homer of the same phrase, if we hope to explain all three lines where it occurs. It might mean either the manœuvre of Quintus Smyrnaeus or the *testudo* of Nonnus. Such a double use is certainly possible, as we find the phrase ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης used in X. 126 and τ. 163 with utterly different meanings. Perhaps it may be said that with a proverbial expression this is more natural than with such a one as we are now discussing. But "ventre à terre" in French almost universally means "at full gallop," yet George Sand writes: "ils se sont mis ventre à terre devant moi," *they have grovelled in the dust before me* (*Mauprat* xvi.).

On the enigmatic X. 126 just quoted I have nothing to suggest, but the following from Nonnus (xlviii. 504) is worth giving:

τίς δρυΐ μῦθον ἔλεξε; τίς ἄπνοον ἤπαφε πεύκην;
τίς κρανέην παρέπεισε, καὶ εἰς γάμον ἤγαγε πέτρην;

This comes nearer the meaning of X. 126 than any other passage quoted, as in both Nonnus and Homer the idea is that the person is *inexorable*. But Nonnus compares Aura to the oak or rock, while Homer does not compare Achilles to them. The other references known to me are (besides τ. 163) Hesiod *Theog.* 35, Plato *Apol.* 34 D, *Rep.* 544 D, Cicero *ad Att.* xiii. 28, Ovid *Ars Am.* ii. 541.

X. 202. πῶς δέ κεν Ἕκτωρ κῆρας ὑπεξέφυγεν θανάτοιο,
εἰ μή Ϝοι πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἤντετ' Ἀπόλλων
ἐγγύθεν, ὅς Ϝοι ἐπῶρσε μένος λαιψηρά τε γοῦνα;

For the objections taken to this passage I must again refer to Dr Leaf's notes, where they may be found in full. But I submit that they are by no means fatal. The question is only another way, a more vivid way, of saying: οὐδέ κεν ὑπεξέφυγεν εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ. The audience of the poet are listening with excitement to hear what happens; he raises it, keeping their expectation on the stretch, by interposing these lines. And considering

the notorious swiftness of Achilles, some excuse is really wanted to shew how it was that Hector was able to escape him so long, to run more than three times round the whole city[1]. All that need be supplied is "*so long*[2]." "How could Hector have so long escaped death, had not Apollo helped him?" That the lines do at first sight imply Hector's complete escape is true, but Homer did not expect to be examined by a microscope and his audience knew well enough that Hector would not escape after all.

As for reading *ὑπεξέφερεν* with the Syrian codex, it seems to me impossible to construe it at all in accordance with Homeric usage.

There is another passage not unlike, Λ. 310:

> *ἔνθα κε λοιγὸς ἔεν καὶ ἀμήχανα Ϝέργα γένοντο,*
> *καί νύ κεν ἐν νήεσσι πέσον φεύγοντες Ἀχαιοί,*
> *εἰ μὴ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ κέκλετ' Ὀδυσσεύς.*

Is not this open to the same objection? Were there not *λοιγὸς* and *ἀμήχανα Ϝέργα*, were not the Achaeans driven back upon the ships after all? The only difference is that in this case the disaster is put off rather longer, but not much, for the Greeks certainly were driven back the same afternoon, and pretty early too in the same afternoon, as room must be left for the *Patrocleia*. About line 540 there comes on *λοιγός* enough to satisfy anybody.

This *κεν* with past tense then must not be taken too literally: the wonder to me is rather that it ever was.

Ψ. 254. *ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν.*

ἐν κλισίῃ δ' ἔνθεντες L, here again I think rightly. The same is also pointed to by H. Lips. Vrat. A. and Eustathius. The Leipsic group has often preserved the reading of Aristarchus, and I suspect this was his here. *ἐν κλισίῃ δ' ἐνθέντες* would be very liable to be corrupted to *ἐν κλισίῃ δὲ θέντες* and *κλισίῃσι*

[1] This very question is raised by a Scholiast: *πῶς τάχιστος ὢν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ καταλαμβάνει τὸν Ἕκτορα; καὶ φασὶν οἱ μὲν ἐξεπιτηδες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποιητοῦ καταπεπονῆσθαι πολλῷ πόνῳ πρότερον, ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ νῦν μείζονα κινήσῃ πάθη.* An absurd reason is then given as due to others; after all Homer's reason is the best.

[2] So Heyne, reading *ὑπεξέφερε*, says "supplendum est *tamdiu*."

would follow as a matter of course. For the loss of the preposition compare Φ. 213: *βαθέης δ' ἐκ φθέγξατο δίνης*, due to Casaubon, which was corrupted to *δ' ἐφθέγξατο*; there also L alone preserves the *ἐκ* though otherwise wrong. Compare Dr Leaf's admirable paper on the MSS of the *Iliad* in the last number of this *Journal*.

Ψ. 480. *ἵπποι δ' αὐταὶ ἔασι παροίτεραι, αἳ τὸ πάρος περ.*

"The reading *αὖτε*," says Dr Leaf, "is strongly supported, not only by the MSS which give it (CDES) but by the fact that those which read *αυται* generally put the accent on the first syllable. It is consequently adopted by La Roche. But there is no reason to suppose that the hiatus was permissible; still the question is not certain." Perhaps the difficulty about the accent may be accounted for if we suppose that the *αὖται* of A represents *αὖ ται*, which would be a natural correction of *αὐταὶ* by any one who did not understand the Homeric use (as La Roche himself). It seems just possible that the true *αὐταὶ* misunderstood, another reading *αὖ ταὶ*, and an idea that *αἱ* ought to be crammed on at the beginning so that *αὖται* (Mor.) and *αὗται* (Vrat. A.) should represent *αἱ αὐταὶ*, might among them produce the readings of those MSS, the *αὖται* of A and Vrat. b., and the *αὗται* of Lips., while *αὖτε* is another bad correction of the original.

I find that it is not uncommonly the case that certain forms may be resolved in Homer as a rule, but nevertheless are sometimes unresolved when they occur at the beginning of the line.

I will begin with an example of a word which was resolved even in antiquity. Aristarchus read *Τροΐη*, not *Τροίη*, when the word is an adjective agreeing with *πόλις*, and as Dr Leaf observes (A. 129), "we must conclude that he had strong authority for the trisyllabic form." But the distinction between *Τροΐη* agreeing with *πόλις* (whether it mean "city of Troy" or "city of Troas") and *Τροίη* as a noun is one which it is impossible to uphold. *Τροίη* by itself is just as much an

adjective, and only differs in having *πόλις* or *γαῖα* suppressed instead of put in with it. Generally speaking *γαῖα* is the word to be understood; *Τροίη εὐρεῖα* manifestly means in many instances "the wide land of Troy," not the city (e.g. *α*. 62, a very clear case). The word then must be resolved in all cases or in none, and, as said above, there must have been very good authority for resolving it.

Now let us see how the matter stands from the point of view of metre. *Τροίη*, *Τροίηθεν* etc., occur 84 times in such a position that we can resolve them; only 5 times in such a position that we cannot. These five are all at the beginning of a line (*α*. 62, *δ*. 99, *ε*. 307, *Ω*. 256, 494). This affords a strong presumption that this word should be always resolved if possible, and that such forms are permitted to be unresolved at the beginning of a line more easily than anywhere else. It is to be noted also that the exceptions are in the *Odyssey* or still later.

I will take another word of whose trisyllabic character there can be no doubt at all. *πλέονες* etc. are always three syllables except *σ*. 247: *πλέονές κε μνηστῆρες ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισιν*, again at the beginning, and again in the *Odyssey*.

κοῖλος is a familiar word in this connexion. It is for an original *κόϝιλος*, but there is no proof that the digamma was here pronounced when the Homeric poems were composed. We need not then feel any difficulty at finding it contracted in the first foot of *χ*. 385, *κοῖλον ἐς αἰγιαλόν*, and may safely reject the *λευρὸν* of Nauck and the *κώιλον αἰγιαλόν* of Monrad. *κόϊλος* is resolved 56 times.

σῶς is always resolvable except X. 332: *σῶς ἔσσεσθ'*, at beginning. Nauck conjectures *ζώς*, Dr Leaf proposes to read *σάος*, or *σῶος*, *ἔσεσθ'*, and to take it as a case of ictus-lengthening. I do not feel at all capable of deciding the point, but it seems quite possible that *σῶς* in this position may be correct, though the line is in the *Achilleid*.

Verbs compounded with *προ* never contract except *ω*. 360: *προὔπεμψ', ὡς ἂν δεῖπνον ἐφοπλίσσωσι τάχιστα*. Here again the contraction is at the beginning, but it is in so late a passage that no conclusion can be drawn from it.

Βορέης begins a line, I. 5, βορέῃ also Ψ. 195. Nowhere else is it disyllabic.

We have now enough cases to warrant us in saying that οἰῶν is not necessarily incorrect in μ. 266:

οἰῶν τε βληχήν· καί μοι Fέπος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ.

Everywhere else we have seen that οἰῶν may be satisfactorily resolved, except in two late passages; here as it begins the line, and as no reason can be given why ἠδ' ὀϊῶν βληχήν should have been altered, it is safer to let it stand. The most violent opposers of contraction have to confess that οἰὸς is often disyllabic, and it is not the fact that it would not scan if uncontracted.

I think that this is sufficient evidence to shew that words were peculiarly liable to contraction in the first foot, and that we must therefore take this into consideration when judging of the correctness of such a reading. There is a strong piece of evidence on the other side, the word θέϊος, which is only contracted in the fifth foot, if I recollect aright. But I do not believe that enough words could be collected on the other side to overthrow my view. The terminations of words are of course different.

I think it has not been observed that παντοῖος should be resolved in Homer to παντόϊος (for παντο(σ)ιος). There is only one adverse instance and that in the very late ω. 343.

κρείων, κρείουσα etc. occur 60 times and in every single case in such a position that they may be resolved. If it is a participle for κρεέων this is at once accounted for and κρεέων etc. ought to be read everywhere.

As πάϊς is read where it will scan, for παῖς, so we ought to read πάϊδα etc. for παῖδα etc. It is inconsistent not to do so, and the Alexandrine practice is of no weight. In the eighth (or tenth) fragment of Stesichorus πάϊδας actually occurs, for the whole fragment is dactylic; read therefore in the fourth line of it:

ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον πάϊδάς τε φίλους.

Also the fifth fragment of Stesichorus is dactylic; read therefore:

Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεϊνᾶς Ἐρυθείας.

Both lines of this fragment start with a spondee and for the rest are pure dactyls.

I agree with Herr Menrad in the opinion that *ἀφνειός* and *αἰδοῖος* ought to be resolved in Homer. The correct form of the comparative then will be, according to Homeric principles, *ἀφνεϊώτερος*, *αἰδοϊώτερος*. Instead of this Homer prefers *ἀφνειότερος* and *αἰδοιότερος*, whereby he shews that he did not object to contraction so much as some of his critics. (*ἀφνειός* itself is contracted in E. 9, I. 479, *αἰδοῖος* in *ρ*. 578.)

The comparative formation is important with reference to the mutual influence of Attic and Epic language. It is certain that the Attic comparison in *-ωτερος* or *-οτερος* is taken directly from the Epic language, those words lengthening the vowel which otherwise could not go into the Epic hexameter. (Even if we accept Herr Brugman's view, that *-ώτερος* is formed from an ablatival stem, it comes to the same thing, for it must be admitted that only those words make the comparative from an ablatival stem which could not scan if they did not.) An important feature of Attic is then due simply and solely to old poetic custom. So it is with the quantity of *ἀθάνατος*. So too with *θεός*, which is certainly monosyllabic in Ionic poetry, and probably is occasionally so in Epic. So far from Attic custom here influencing our texts, it was Homeric custom that in many points determined the Attic. And that not only in poetry but in the language of everyday life. Of course there *are* swarms of things in our texts which are imported from Attic, but I protest against the overdoing of this idea. But it seems destined that in every science "the order of progress must be the reverse of the order of nature." We begin at the wrong end, coming to Attic first, learning the grammar and studying the literature; if we began with Homer, we should look upon Attic from a somewhat different point of view, and be more prepared to admit the Epic influence there. The strange thing is that it

was not still stronger, as strong as that of the Bible in Bunyan, considering the way in which the Greeks regarded Homer.

It is commonly stated that Aristarchus observed that *φόβος* in Homer signifies *flight* (e.g. Jebb, *Introduction to Homer*, page 95). That Aristarchus did insist on this is true, but the meaning was well known long before him.

"Ωσπερ που καὶ Σκύθαι λέγονται οὐχ ἧττον φεύγοντες ἢ διώκοντες μάχεσθαι, καὶ "Ομηρός που ἐπαινῶν τοὺς τοῦ Αἰνείου ἵππους "κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα" ἔφη αὐτοὺς ἐπίστασθαι "διώκειν ἠδὲ φέβεσθαι." καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Αἰνείαν κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐνεκωμίασε, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φόβου ἐπιστήμην, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν εἶναι "μήστωρα φόβοιο." Plato, *Laches* 191 A.

The way in which Plato glides off from *φεύγοντες* to *φέβεσθαι*, assuming evidently that everybody knows the Homeric meaning of *φόβος*, shews that this meaning was familiar at Athens long before.

It is probable that Aristarchus did first assert that in Homer *φόβος never* does *not* mean "flight." Wrongly; see Leaf on Λ. 544, M. 46. Yet the former is apparently from the oldest part of the *Iliad*. In Λ. 402 the meaning seems to me now to be "flight." In Δ. 456 *φόβος*, the reading of nearly all our MSS, is absolutely unconstruable on any hypothesis; Aristarchus was right here in giving *πόνος*, and it was not a conjecture, for it is in L and O.

This leads me to say a word in favour of this latter MS. It is not one of those examined by Dr Leaf with such startling results in this *Journal*. I do not know how far it has been collated, but at any rate it has been for Δ, E, Z. We have seen that on Δ. 456 it and L have alone preserved the reading of Aristarchus; this led me to see how far it agrees with L, and I have noted the following. Δ. 141. *τ'* omitt. LO, recte? 318. *μέν κεν* LO. *μέν τοι* vulg. *μέν γε* Harl. 378. *οἱ δὲ* ALO, *οἵ ῥα* cet. *οἳ δὲ* La Roche. 456. vide supra. 478. *θρέπτα* ELOS Vrat. b. c. Mosc. 3. Zenodotus. 493. O cum Eust. soli indicant var. *ἔκφυγε* pro *ἔκπεσε*. E. 31. *τειχεσιβλῆτα* Zenod. *γρ. τειχεσιβλῆτα* O. 181. *μὲν* pro *μιν* GO sup. *μιν* et *μὲν* Aristarchus *διχῶς*. Ambas Ar. lectiones habet O solus. 224.

τῶ pro τὼ LO, τὼ et τῶ A. 273. κε κλέος AHLO recte. 366. ἀέκοντε GO Cant. Barocc. ἄκοντε cet. 538. χαλκὸς ALO Vrat. b. in marg. Barocc. καὶ τῆς deteriores. 567. πάθοι LO recte, πάθῃ cet. 744. πολίων AO recte. πολέων cet. 797. τείρετο ALNOS Aristarchus, τρίβετο cet. Z. 109. ὣς ELO recte, ὡς cet. 146. δὲ omitt. LO (!). 233. βαλέτην (!) LO, γρ. λαβέτην O. 265. μένεος δ' LO prave. 309. ἱερεύσωμεν (!) LO. 335. νεμέσσι AO recte, νεμέσσει cet. 365. οἶκόν δὲ ἐλεύσομαι OG ex corr. recte. 457. φορέης LO pessime.

Hence it is visible that L and O are closely connected, in Z especially they alone exhibit the same blunders five times. But the scribe of O appears to have had at least two MSS before him; he was an ignorant fellow and gives with gravity absurd variants sometimes, and has many mistakes. Yet in these three books O shews itself to be of great importance as it several times almost alone gives the true reading.

It is after the sixth book that L assumes its distinctive characteristics, and perhaps O would not agree with it after this.

ARTHUR PLATT.

PROPERTIUS III. 18, 3—6.

Qua iacet et Troiae tubicen Misenus harena
Et sonat Herculeo structa labore uia,
Hic ubi mortalis {dexter / dextra} cum quaereret urbes,
Cymbala Thebano concrepuere deo.

The difficulty of vv. 5, 6 is well known. Each word in 5 is disputed, *mortalis, dexter* or *dextra, quaereret:* in 6 it is doubtful whether the Theban God is Bacchus or Hercules. Without hoping to clear up every point, I aim to prove that the reference is throughout to Hercules.

I begin with a passage of Servius. On Aen. VII. 662

postquam Laurentia uictor
Geryone exstincto Tirynthius attigit arua

Servius writes as follows:

Veniens Hercules de Hispania per Campaniam in quadam Campaniae ciuitate pompam triumphi sui exhibuit; unde Pompei dicitur ciuitas. postea iuxta Baias caulam bubus fecit et eam saepsit; qui locus Boaulia dictus est, nam hodie Bauli uocatur.

From this passage we learn that Hercules after conquering Geryon in Spain made a triumphal progress through Campania, and that the memory of this procession (*pompa*) survived in the name of the Campanian town Pompeii. Hercules at the same time lodged the cattle which he had taken from Geryon in a stall or steading in the neighbourhood of Baiae and the memory of this also survived in the name *Bauli*, a contraction of *Boaulia*.

Diodorus, in the account which he gives of Hercules, IV. 19 sqq., says Hercules passed from Spain through Gaul, then over the Alps by Liguria into Italy. After stopping at the place where Rome was long afterwards built, where he was entertained by Cacius and Pinarius, and where the flight of steps known as Cacian remained to record Hercules' stay on the Palatine, he started from the river Tiber and passing along the sea-coast (*διεξιὼν τὴν παράλιον τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας ὀνομαζομένης*) came to the Cumaean plain. Here on the volcanic territory called Phlegra he defeated the Giants, as detailed at length by the historian Timaeus. Then he descended from the Phlegraean plain to lake Avernus, which at that time spread out to the west till it joined the sea. Hercules raised a dam of earth between the lake and the sea and formed the road still known in Diodorus' time as the road of Hercules. Thence he passed to Poseidonia (Paestum).

Dionysius, Antiqq. I. 44, says 'when Hercules had settled everything in Italy as he wished, and as soon as his naval force had joined him arriving safely from Iberia, he sacrificed to the gods a tenth of all the spoils and founded a small city named after himself where his army lay in harbour (this city is still inhabited by the Romans, lying between Neapolis and Pompeii, possessing havens at all times trustworthy); and so, after winning credit and glory and divine honours among all the inhabitants of Italy, started on his way to Sicily'.

These three passages of Servius, Diodorus, Dionysius, supplement each other and form a fair commentary on the lines of Propertius. It seems pretty clear that the poet is describing the same progress along the Campanian coast which was part of the legendary history of Hercules.

Hercules comes from the north southwards through Italy. He would thus have the western coast on his right, the eastern on his left. This is the meaning of *dexter*, or, as the Neapolitanus gives, *dextra*. Exactly as Livy makes Hannibal say to his army, after they have descended from the Alps into the plain of the Po, XXI. 43, *dextra laeuaque duo maria claudunt: circa Padus amnis: ab tergo Alpes urgent* (the sea on the right is the Tyrrhenian or lower sea: that on the left, the Adriatic): so

Hercules descends from the Alps through Italy, keeping to the line of shore on his right, i.e. the west shore. Hercules was often represented as coming down upon Italy from the Alps. The Graiae Alpes were supposed to record this passage of Hercules. Mr Dowdall in his edition of Liv. XXI. quotes Petron. de bell. ciuil. 144 *Alpibus aeriis, ubi Graio nomine pulsae Descendunt rupes et se patiuntur adiri, Est locus Herculeis aris sacer,* and Nep. Hann. 3 *quas (Alpes) nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat.* Cf. Plin. H.N. III. 134, Amm. Marc. XV. 10, 9 *et primam (uiam) Thebaeus Hercules ad Geryonem exstinguendum, ut relatum est, et Tauriscum lenius gradiens prope maritimas composuit Alpes, hisque Graiarum indidit nomen: Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui memoriam consecrauit.*

If this is the meaning of *dextra* or, as seems more probably right, *dexter,* we may proceed on this basis to determine the meaning of *quaereret.* The usual interpretation is 'when he was in quest of cities *to conquer*'. A passage of the Catalepta XI. 53, 54 is quoted

Atque aliam ex alia bellando quaerere gentem
Vincere et Oceani finibus ulterius

and another from Lucan II. 574

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis.

But this sense does not seem to agree with the general tenor of the legends connected with Hercules. The battle with the Giants is exceptional. Ordinarily he plays the part of a civilizer, a subduer of monsters, not a conqueror of men. The triumph indeed which gave its name to Pompeii followed the defeat of the Giants at Phlegra. But all the accounts agree in representing Hercules as founding new cities where he came, and particularly in this part of Italy. Herculaneum, and perhaps Pompeii, ascribed their beginnings to him; Bauli was supposed to commemorate the housing of his oxen, quasi *βοαύλια.* No feat of his passage through this region was so famous as his construction of the *Herculea uia,* a strip of land which acted as a dyke, separating the Lucrine lake with the adjoining Avernus from the sea. Sil. XII. 116—119.

Ast hic Lucrino mansisse uocabula quondam
Cocyti memorat, medioque in gurgite ponti
Herculeum commendat iter, qua discidit aequor
Amphitryoniades armenti uictor Iberi.

Bücheler thus explains *quaereret*, 'quaerebat deus urbes, nam aberant etiam tum illi orae'. He was on the look out for non-existing cities, which only sprang into existence on his approach. The feeling, if I may say so, of the word, perhaps to some degree escapes us: Hercules' quest may have been as much to *find* as to *found;* to learn what cities had been already reared or to rear new ones of his own. He was the civilizer of the world: and the city is the necessary accompaniment of civilization. This sense of *quaereret* is really traceable in the passage of the Catalepta, only the object of the search is there defined by *bellando* to be warlike. The words *aliam ex alia* of the Catalepta might equally well describe the progress (from nation to nation, from city to city,) made by Hercules.

We have still to consider *mortalis*. Bücheler punctuates as follows

Hic ubi mortalis, dexter cum quaereret urbes,
Cymbala Thebano concrepuere deo,

'here where mortal men (*mortalis* nom. plural) clashed cymbals together to greet the God of Thebes'; and he explains *Thebano deo* of Bacchus, who is said to have made a similar progress through the cities of Greece and Oenotria (Anth. l. 745 Riese).

If my view of the passage is right, Bacchus has nothing to do with the two verses. Certainly the words *Thebano deo* need not refer to any one but Hercules. A single quotation will perhaps suffice to prove this. Ammianus Marcellinus in the passage quoted above states that the first road over the Alps was made by Hercules of Thebes when he crossed them on his way to kill Tauriscus and Geryon, the former a cruel tyrant who infested Gaul, the latter Spain (Amm. xv. 9, 4); and the name *Graiae Alpes* as well as *Arx Monoeci*, on the Ligurian coast, remained to record the event. It makes little difference that the journey of Hercules is here traced from Thebes in

Greece to Liguria and the Alps, thence to Gaul and Spain: for us, the important point is that the Hercules who crosses the Alps to conquer Geryon is the Hercules whose home is at Thebes. The allusions to a similar progress of Bacchus through Italy, seem to be comparatively few and insignificant.

MSS give both *dexter* (N) and *dextra*. This appears to me to point to the meaning being in either case identical, 'on the right hand', not, as Bücheler explains *dexter*, 'propitius'. If, as above suggested, 'on the right' is 'along the right coast' to Hercules descending from the Alps southwards through Italy, it would seem that *mortalis* agrees with *urbes*, as Hertzberg believed: at least as a nominative singular it is awkward and in collocation un-Propertian. But why should the cities be called *mortalis?* i.e. the cities of mortal men. It is obvious that *mortalis* is in antithesis to *deo*. While Hercules was in quest of cities that, whether as found existing already or then for the first time founded, were the tokens of an advancing and civilizing *humanity*, he was hailed, not as a mere pioneer of mankind's civilization, a destroyer of monsters and Giants, a builder of sea-dykes, but as a veritable *god* on a divine mission.

The antithesis thus becomes more effective in proportion as it is more symmetrical. *Mortalis urbes* but *Thebano deo*. I would therefore translate the two vv. 'where, as advancing on the right he looked for cities inhabited by mortal men, the clashing cymbals hailed him the Theban god'. The mortal's progress becomes a divine triumph; the hero could be no mortal like those for whose good he came; he had exalted his mortal to divine.

As a further argument, if any be needed, in favor of the general belief that Hercules, not Bacchus, is alluded to by Propertius, it should not be forgotten that Hercules is the patron-god of all hot springs, which on the other hand are not specially associated with Bacchus. Athen. 512 f. *διὰ τί τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντες Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι ἱερά*; The most famous instance is Thermopylae; see the commentators on Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.

Prop. IV. 5. 21, 22

Si te Eoa $\left.\begin{matrix} \textit{Dorozantum} \\ \textit{Derorantum} \end{matrix}\right\}$ *iuuat aurea ripa,*
Seu quae sub Tyria concha superbit aqua.

Elsewhere (J. of Philology XV. p. 19) I have suggested that this passage is to be explained of a sort of Indian shawl produced in Darsania. Steph. Byz. Δαρσανία πόλις Ἰνδική, ἐν ᾗ αὐθημερὸν ἱμάτιον ἱστουργοῦσι γυναῖκες, and proposed to write

Si te Eoa Darizan(t)um iuuat aurea rica.

It is some confirmation of this view that in Germanicus' Aratea 123, where Justice is described as rarely visiting men in the age of Silver, and only descending from the mountains in the late evening with her countenance veiled, *ore Velato tristique genas abscondita rica*, all the MSS., some of them going back to the 9th or 10th century, give *ripa*. The passage was corrected long ago by Salmasius.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

PALAEOGRAPHICA.

I.

Upon the date of the Townley Homer.

It is right that the date that has of late been put upon the Townley Homer (Burney 86) should not be allowed to pass without protest: *nemo enim errat sibi uni, sed dementiam spargit in proximos.*

The matter, it is well known, turns partly upon an imperfect subscription: ἐτελειώθη μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ ιή· ἡμέρα ξ· ἰνδικτι ιγ////////. The year, which should follow, has been erased so thoroughly that no conjecture can be made as to what letters stood there. The problem is therefore to find the year which shall correspond with the other indications that the eraser allowed to remain. Very various years have been suggested, and the extraordinary divergence of opinion is enough to suggest serious reflection upon the results to Palaeography of unqualified amateur effort. The Palaeographical Society published a page of the manuscript in facsimile, no. 67 in their first volume, and said that the choice of years for the subscription lay between 1210 and 1255; Prof. Gardthausen in his Handbook p. 405 says that this is impossible, and prefers 1344. Dr O. Lehmann, author of *Die tachygraphische Abkürzungen in griechischen Handschriften* discusses the question in *Hermes* XIV. pp. 408 sq. (1879), and while not positive on the date, inclines to the year 1059, and brings palaeographical considerations to prove that the MS. cannot belong to the XIIIth century, as the Pal. Soc.'s editors, on the evidence of its hand, had declared. Lastly we have Professor Ernst Maass, in *Hermes* XIX (1884)

pp. 275 sq. (in an article called *Die Iliasscholien des codex Lipsiensis*) and again in the preface to his edition of the Townley scholia (Oxon. 1889 vol. I. p. i.), who is more than confident for 1059.

The three critics of the Palaeographical Society's date have been moved by the evidence of the subscription, which according to them will not admit either of the years 1210 or 1255; and it would certainly appear that the Editors have made a mistake in their arithmetic. In the dating of a MS. however the evidence that weighs with real palaeographical experience is not primarily that of figures; and it is the want of such experience that has misled the German critics. I leave aside for the present the question of the subscription, and therewith that of the precise year of the MS. The question must no doubt and can be solved: but it is not exactly simple, and I prefer to reserve it for the account of the Townley MS. that I hope to give elsewhere, when I discuss its position in the Homeric tradition. The more important question is the palaeographical; and this may be discussed, and better discussed, without reference to the subscription. For I may say in anticipation, that the missing year in the subscription will, if ever, be determined by considerations of the general character of the hand; the MS. will not be assigned to this or that century in obedience to a hypothetical restoration of the subscription. Further, for the benefit of those who cling to 'documentary' evidence, I may suggest the existence of such things as falsified subscriptions; Prof. Maass has doubtless come across such in his studies, and indeed I read in another article of his in the same number of *Hermes* (p. 534 sq.) a learned note upon stichometrical and other subscriptions in general. Now Prof. Maass may be right in wondering at Prof. Gardthausen's distinctions between decades in the XIVth century; but there are some things certain in palaeography, and one of them is the difference between the writing of the XIth and the XIIIth centuries, and a statement by a practised Palaeographer to the effect that a particular hand belongs to the XIIIth is not to be set aside by any array of statistics from facsimiles, tables of chronology, or observations extracted from handbooks.

To deal first with Dr Lehmann: after a certainly modest preface (ich muss gewiegteren Paläographen, als ich es bin, die Entscheidung der Frage überlassen, ob die Formen der Buchstaben und Buchstabenverbindung gestatten, die Entstehung der Handschrift in das Jahr 1059 zu setzen), he proceeds to give on pp. 409, 410 a series of observations which appear to him to destroy the supposed late character of the hand. Now Dr Lehmann's handbook, although Professor Vitelli says of it 'non vi ha forse affermazione del Lehmann che non vada soggetta a modificazione' (*Mus. Ital.* I. p. 9), has on the whole deserved well of the world, and it is therefore with regret that I have to say that in this case hardly one of Dr Lehmann's observations is true, and not one of them is to the point. As no one practically versed in Palaeography is likely to be misled by them, it is unnecessary to refute them in detail. One or two however deserve a mention: in particular the comparison made between the forms of the letters of the Townley MS. and those of the Marcian Hippocrates (Ven. 269 saec. XI.). It is difficult to find words to express the monstrosity of such a comparison; a beginner with three months' training would not have failed to distinguish the impressions made upon him by these two MSS. as absolutely distinct. After this it is not surprising to find Dr Lehmann laying down a distinction, unknown to Palaeography, between the Scholar's hand and the Scribe's hand, of which the former is always ahead of the latter in development, and ascribing the Townley MS. to the hand of such a Scholar. The remarks upon the abbreviations of the MS. on p. 410 need no attention; the case which Dr Lehmann says is *vor Allem entscheidend* (the non-occurrence of the curved stroke for ω in late MSS.) is not even true.

Prof. Maass might be dismissed more shortly, but for the form in which he has chosen to clothe his assertions. He elects, upon the ground of the subscription, for the year 1059, and then says (p. 276) 'ich stehe nicht an, dasselbe als Entstehungsjahr des Codex zu betrachten: seitens der Paläographie steht jedenfalls nichts in Wege, im Gegentheil'; again (ib. note) 'aber auch aus dem Character der Schrift schliessen sie [the Pal. Soc.'s editors] auf das 13. Jahrhundert—mit Unrecht'; or in

the Latin of his preface 'unde [i.e. from the year 1059] litterarum formas, quae tales sunt quales s. XI. et XII. inveniuntur, nequaquam abhorrere peritis puto constabit, modo ipsum librum inspexerint'. To all these assertions it is easy to return a negative; from the side of Palaeography there *are* many obstacles to dating the MS. in the XIth century: the Pal. Soc.'s editors are right in their conclusion from the character of the writing (and as I am able to state, though without their authority, they have not changed their opinion): and what are we to say to the third sentence? Are Mr Bond and Mr Thompson not 'periti,' or does Prof. Maass mean to suggest they have not 'inspected the book itself'? The writer of this article at least has done so, and is confident that if the matter were put before a jury of recognised palaeographical authorities, the manuscript would unanimously be referred to a period not earlier than the end of the XIIth or the beginning of the XIIIth century.

Would it not be wiser for philologists, even when they have some acquaintance with Palaeography, to accept the date of the Catalogue that they find before them? Prof. Maass has been of some real service to Palaeography by the conclusions contained in his *Observationes Palaeographicae* in the Mélanges Graux; but even so he would have done better to acquiesce in the unambitious but unassailable verdict of the Rev. J. Forshall, the cataloguer of the Burney collection, who in his description of the Townley MS. gives its age as XIII *circiter saeculi*.

II.

An ancient Greek monastery catalogue.

Catalogues of mediaeval Libraries, themselves in manuscript, are not unfrequent, but they are almost exclusively of Western Libraries and contain the titles of Latin books. Many such are collected, to name only one book, in Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885. A catalogue of a Greek monastery-library is a great deal rarer; there may exist some

published that I am not aware of, but at present the only example that I can point to, beside the catalogue that I have to bring forward in this article, is an inventory of the monastery of S. John at Patmos, published from the MS. Vat. gr. 1205 of the XVIth century by Studemund in Philologus 26, p. 167 sq. (1867).

The catalogue I refer to is neither so long nor so important as that of the Patmos library; but it is not without interest. It is contained on the flyleaf of the MS. Barocci 230, of the XIth century, and is written by a XVth century scribe. I give it here, without altering the spelling in any respect:

+ Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ βϊβλία ἅπερ ἔχωμεν.
ἐμπρώτισ μὲν ἡ παροῦσα βίβλοσ ἡ μετάφρασϊς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ σεπτεβρίου
ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναγνωστϊκον ἓν μπανηγήρϊκον κόλϊνον.
βϊβλίον ἓν ὁ γρηγόρϊος ὁ θεολόγος ἐξηγϊμένος κόλϊνον:—
ἕτερον βϊβλίον τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἀσκάτων ἐξηγϊμένον βέμβρϊνον
ἕτερον βϊβλίον ἡ κανώνες οἱ ἰαμβικοὶ καὶ ἡ ὀκτωήχος ἐξηγϊμένα τὰ ἀμφότερα. κόλϊνον
ἕτερον βϊβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου μακαρίου βέμβρϊνον:
εὐανγγέλϊον ἓν βέμβρϊνον
βϊβλίον ἓν ὁ ἀπόστολος ὁλοχρονϊκὸς βέμβρϊνος:—
ἕτερος ἀπόστολος κϋρϊακοδρόμην βέμβρϊνος:
εὐκολογϊον ἓν βέμβρϊνον:·
σϋναξάρϊον ἓν ἐξαμηνέον βέμβρϊνον ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τὸν μήναν τὸν σεπτεμβρϊον:—
τρϊώδϊον ἓν περϊέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν μετὰ ἀποστολοβάνγγελα καὶ τὴν προφητίαν βέμβρϊνον:—
οκτωήχες δῦο ἡ μὲν μία παρακλητϊκὴ ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα κϋρϊακοδρόμον αἳ ἀμφότεραι βέμβρϊναι:+
δϋμηνέον σεπτέμβρϊος καὶ ὀκτόμβρϊος βέμβρϊνος.·. ἕτερον μηνέον νοέμβρϊος:—
ἕτερον μηνέον δϊκέμβρϊος. καὶ ἄλλον ϊανουάρϊοσ.
τρϊμηνέον μάρτϋος ἀπρίλλϊος καὶ μάϊος:
ἕτερον μηνέον αὔγουστος μετὰ τοῦ σϋναξαρίου.·.τὰ πάντα δὲ βέμβρϊνα:

ψαλτῦρϊον ἓν ῥομαϊκον καὶ λατηνϊκον βέμβρϊνον [corr. ex *βεμβρϊον*]. *καὶ .ἕτερον ψαλτύρϊον βέμβρϊνον μετὰ τῆς χρῦσογραμίας*:

ὁρολόγϊα τρία . λεξϊκον ἓν . κόλϊνα . καὶ ἕτερον λεξϊκον βέμβρϊνον.

βιβλία γραμματϊκὰ προσωδία μία . εὐρϊππήδης βϊβλίον ἓν . βϊβλίον ἕτερον ὁ σοφοκλὴσ.

βϊβλίον ἓν τοῦ ἀριστοτέλους τῶν πέντε φωνῶν + βϊβλίον ἓν τοῦ χριστοφάνους [sic] *καὶ τοῦ λϊκόφρονος τὰ πάντα κόλϊνα*

βϊβλίον ἓν μετάφρασϊς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἀπριλλίου. ἐροτήματα [half erased]. Interval of about two lines

στϊχεραρία δῦο τὸ μὲν ἓν βέμβρϊνον τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κόλϊνον . βϊβλίον ἓν καλοφοναρίον: ·

ψαλτϊκὰ δῦο τὰ πάντα κόλϊνα: +

ἐροτήματα βέμβρϊνα. λεξικον ἓν βιβλίον [? ; the last three words partly erased]

The first point that calls for consideration is, of what library is this the catalogue? Mr Coxe thus alludes to the matter: 'catalogus codicum ad possessorem quendam antiquitus pertinentium, [an monasterium modo dictum?]' There can be little doubt that the latter of these alternatives is the true one. At the end of the book two late hands, neither of them the same as that of the catalogue, have written these two inscriptions: (1) *αὕτη ἡ ἀξϊόθαύμαστος βιβλὸς ἐστη τῆς μονῆς | του ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἔν πάνη.* (2) *αὕτη ἡ ἀξϊόθαύμαστος βίβλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἁγίας μωνῆς τὸν ἁγίων ἀποστόλιον | πετρου καὶ παύλου.* If we combine these statements with the first line of the catalogue, *ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ βιβλία ἅπερ ἔχωμεν*, it is plain that we have here a catalogue of the library of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Pane, as it was in the XVth century. Unfortunately the piece of information which would have given the greatest interest to the document is wanting: I have been unable to discover any Eastern monastery at a place called Πάνη. Perhaps some reader of this article may be better informed.

[1] M. Émile Legrand kindly suggested a comparison with the 'monasterium SS. Petri et Pauli de Spanopetro', of which a diploma is given by Mont

The catalogue contains 41 books, including the two doubtful entries in vv. 40 and 43; 31 of these were ecclesiastical; the remaining ten consist of an Euripides, a Sophocles, a tract of Aristotle, Aristophanes and Lycophron in one book, one *προσῳδία*, two *ἐρωτήματα*, and three Lexica. Comparing the list with the Patmos-catalogue, one notices that at *Πάνη* the books are not numbered, but are described according to their contents and their material. This is either *βέμβρινον* or *κόλινον*; *βέμβρινον* is of course a grecised form of 'membranaceum', other varieties are *βεμβραινον*, *βεβρανον*, even *δεύρανον*. It was obvious therefore that *κόλινον* must mean 'chartaceum', but I was at a loss to account for the form itself till Prof. Alfred Goodwin happily saw in it the word *ξύλινον*, 'cotton'. Itacism runs throughout the list, and in writing the word *ἀριστοφάνους* in v. 29 the scribe has by some means or other substituted *χ* for *α*. Apart from the spelling, the hand is good and regular, and there is no doubt as to what the scribe intended.

faucon, *Palaeogr. Graec.*, p. 403; and Professor Cav. C. de Giorgi of Lecce, on being appealed to, stated that no monastery dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul was to be found in the province of that name, but called attention to the Basilian house formerly existing on the larger of the two islands, 'Isle di san Pietro e san Paolo', that lie off the harbour of Taranto and are now occupied by fortifications.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE GEROUSIA OF HIERAPOLIS.

Towards the end of May, 1887, a party consisting of Messrs W. M. Ramsay, H. A. Brown and myself started for the interior of Anatolia and made its first halt at Hierapolis: our primary object was to copy the well-known inscription relating to the Society of Ἱορφυράβαφοι, published by M. Waddington (Le Bas and W. no. 1687)[1], and, that done, to transcribe all unpublished texts. But circumstances compelled us to desert the site after three days' stay and we left many texts unread in the Sacra Via which extends north-west of the city. Of those which we transcribed the great majority are commonplace epitaphs, but one in particular throws some light, albeit dim, on the financial organisation of the Hierapolitan Gerousia.

The councils or associations called γερουσίαι, which existed in Anatolia, the islands, and a few places in Greece proper, from the first century A.D. onwards, have of course nothing in common, except their name, with the well-known Dorian institution of the days of free Hellas. The former are mainly known from inscriptions, which show that a Gerousia existed in almost every city of Hellenic character, within the geographical limit mentioned above; and in fact the gradual Hellenisation of Asia Minor might be traced by the establishment of these bodies, as in the cases of Sidyma in Lycia, and Sebaste in Phrygia (v. infra). But precise information as to the purpose and organisation of the Gerousia has to be gleaned mainly by inference, the most difficult point to settle being the primary question whether this body was organised in the several cities for administrative or deliberative purposes of any kind, or whether it was an old men's club formed merely for purposes of exercise and recreation in days when free Greece was no longer. The latter view is held by such great authorities as Monsieur Waddington (Le Bas and W., Voyage Arch. 1602 a),

[1] See the end of this paper.

and Prof. Mommsen (Provinces, Eng. trans. pp. 353, 4); the former view is expressed most clearly by Dr Julius Menadier in an Inaugural Dissertation (*Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*, pp. 48 foll.). To his main conclusions (1) that the Gerousia had a recognized "political" position in the civic organisation, and was not merely a social club, (2) that its functions were almost exclusively religious—I had been led, before consulting his treatise, by independent consideration of much of the evidence on which he relies, and of a few inscriptions found since his work was published.

Dr Menadier had not sufficient evidence before him to prove absolutely that the Gerousia was a select and privileged body, strictly limited in numbers; but his arguments in favour of its political importance tend to show its exclusive character also. But, as has been stated already, Dr Mommsen, in spite of these arguments and of the great inscription of Sidyma found in 1881, still maintains that the Gerousia was not "a collegium reserved for the municipal aristocracy" but a club for the older citizens, whose main feature was its gymnasium, answering nearly to "the citizens' assembly-rooms in our small towns" (Provinces, Eng. tr. pp. 353, 4). Such a club could not have been a small close body, distinguished by privileges and functions from the mass of the citizens.

And yet the Sidyma inscription, which Dr Mommsen himself quotes, tells directly against such a view; and we can add to it now the valuable inscriptions of Sillyon, which were discovered and published by MM. Radet and Paris (Bull. de Corresp. Hell. 1889, pp. 486 foll.), an inscription of Sebaste Phrygiae, found by Mons. Paris (B. C. H. 1883, p. 453) and more correctly read by W. M. Ramsay (J. H. S. iv. p. 411) and such minor evidence as is afforded by an inscription of Thasos found by Mr Bent (J. H. S. viii. p. 426).

In the 2nd century A.D.[1] the Lycian town of Sidyma, encouraged by its increasing prosperity, "*ἐψηφίσατο σύστημα γεροντικὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐννόμου βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας*

[1] According to Benndorf under Commodus: Mr Ramsay points out that the abbreviation Aure. occurs at Smyrna about 200–210 A.D., while the abbreviation Aur. becomes exceedingly common from 215 onwards.

ἀγομένης" and petitioned the proconsul for confirmation of this resolution. On receipt of his gracious answer there were enrolled as original members 51 βουλευταί and 49 δημόται, whose names were inscribed on the stele discovered by the Austrians (Benndorf, Reisen in Lykien und Carien, vol. i. pp. 71 foll.) with that of Evelthon, the first gymnasiarch of the new institution. These 100 are styled οἱ πρώτως καταγέντες (sic) εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν. In the list of βουλευταί appear certain persons, whom we know from the preliminary decree (p. 71) to have been at the time respectively Lykiarch, Town Clerk, and priest of the Augusti: and it is probable that the remainder represent all the members of the Βουλή over a certain age, and that as many δημόται, possessing the proper qualifications, as were needed to complete the hundred, were then added. A similar principle guided the censors in filling up the βουλαί, as we know from Pliny (Ep. ad Traj. 79); the Bithynian senates were composed of all who had held civic office, including minor magistracies, with the addition of private citizens possessing the necessary qualifications of birth, age, etc. The Δῆμος from which the Gerousia of Sidyma was filled up, is probably equivalent to the Ἐκκλησία; one or the other existed in most, if not all, Asian cities, and was to some degree a select body, as we may infer from the distinction drawn at Sillyon between ἐκκλησιασταί and πολῖται (v. infra). Knowing what we do of the quality of the members of the Senate of Rome itself under the Empire, it will not surprise us that some enfranchised slaves appear among the δημόται, namely οἱ ἐλευθερώμενοι κατὰ διαθήκην Αὐρη. Ἰάσονος.

The state of the case at Sillyon may be inferred from Messieurs Paris and Radet's inscriptions. These record the munificence of a local millionaire, Menodora, who, on being elected to civic dignities, distributed largess among the inhabitants: on her son, Megacles, becoming δημιουργός she gave 20 denaria to each βουλευτής, 18 to each member of the Gerousia and Ecclesia, 2 to each πολίτης, and 1 to each ἀπελεύθερος or πάροικος. It is recorded that she had held all kinds of offices in her own person e.g. the high priesthood of Augustus, of Demeter, and all the gods, had been δεκάπρωτος, δημιουργός and γυμνασίαρχος, and had distributed at one

stage in her career largess amounting in the aggregate to 86 denaria to each *βουλευτής*, 80 to each member of the Gerousia, 77 to each member of the Ecclesia, 3 to the wives of any of the former, 9 to each *πολίτης*, and 3 to each *οὐινδικτάριος* (i.e. slave freed by 'manumissio vindicta', as the French editors show), *ἀπελεύθερος* and *πάροικος*. A later inscription adds to this total, a modius of corn among other things having been distributed to each senator, gerousiast and ecclesiast. What doubt can there be that both Gerousia and Ecclesia at Sillyon were close bodies as much as the Βουλή itself?

It seems clear that at Sebaste also election to the Gerousia was accounted an honour: Mons. Paris has published the register of *οἱ ἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν* (see also Journ. of Hell. Stud. iv. p. 411), a phrase which implies that we have here, as at Sidyma, the list of the *original members:* had it been that of those elected year by year, as M. Paris thinks, *εἰσερχόμενοι* would have been used[1]. They include three names which are those of women. This is the first known mention of the latter as gerousiasts, and their membership seems never to have been anything but an anomaly; Mons. Paris conjectures that the three at Sebaste had been *ἀρχιερεῖαι τῆς Ἀσίας*: in Mr Bent's Thasian inscription, Flavia Vibia Sabina is recorded as *μόνην καὶ πρώτην τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος μετασχοῦσαν τῶν ἴσων τειμῶν τοῖς γερουσιάζουσιν.* But that women should have been included at all is hardly consistent with the Gerousia having been such a club as Dr Mommsen appears to picture it on the strength of Vitruvius' description of the use made of the house of Crœsus at Sardis (ii. 8, 10). Finally the word *τιμαί* in Mr Bent's inscription confirms the theory that the gerousiasts had particular civic privileges.

We can accordingly supplement Menadier and say with fair assurance that the Gerousia under the Empire was a close, privileged body of limited numbers, probably a 100 or thereabouts on an average, and originally elected by the civic assemblies, the *βουλή* and *ἐκκλησία*, with which it afterwards ranked; whether its roll was afterwards filled up by co-optation or public election there is no evidence to show. Also

[1] As Mr Ramsay has suggested. He also thinks that M. Paris is mistaken in his opinion that the names were inscribed from time to time.

we infer that no class, except foreigners or slaves, was ineligible; for both freedmen and persons of doubtful parentage might be included (cf. "Εὐτύχης *πατρὸς ἀδήλου*" at Sidyma), as well as women in exceptional cases.

These then are the new facts derived from evidence, published since Menadier wrote. His account of the organisation and officers of the Gerousia (pp. 50 sq.) still holds good, the only addition to the latter being the *Ταμίας* mentioned in MM. Cousin and Diehl's Cadyanda inscription (Bull. de Corr. Hell. 1886 p. 55), who may have looked after the *ἴδιαι πρόσοδοι*; as the *γυμνασίαρχος* of Hierapolis (see No. 1 infra) looked after the money left on trust for *στεφανωτικά* or the like. The Sidyma inscription seems to prove that the gymnasiarchs were the chief executive officers of the Gerousia; and that the office of *προστάτης*, whose name is known in three places (v. Menadier p. 50), or of *ἄρχων*, was a rare, or only honorary, dignity. Menadier has also shown that the Gerousia had a definite local habitation, such as Pliny (ep. ad Tr. 33) mentions at Nicomedia, and Vitruvius (l.c.) at Sardis.

We may accept also Menadier's general conclusion as to the functions of the Gerousia, namely that they pertained "ad res sacras" (p. 57), in which opinion he follows Tittmann (Darstellung der griech. Staatsverfassungen pp. 480–483), though on different and better grounds. The Gerousia had the direction of certain festivals (Wood Inscr. from the Great Theatre no. 19), and perhaps even a general supervision of things religious in the separate cities. It is thus a most important institution, with definite functions, probably distinguished from those of the *βουλή* and *ἐκκλησία*, as the religious from the civil, but equally recognised in the municipal scheme of Roman Anatolia. Thus the Gerousia often joins in honorific decrees or dedications, with the *Βουλή* (C. I. G. 2781, 2786, 2930 b, add 3422, and many other instances), or the *Νέοι* (C. I. G. 2781, 2786, 2931, 2944 etc. etc.); and either alone, or in common with the city or its councils, designates certain favoured individuals its children. (Le Bas 53, C. I. G. 2163 d. etc.)

It is convenient to meet at this point any objection to the character here ascribed to the Gerousia which might be based

upon the colleges of the Νέοι. It might be urged for instance that the latter are so often coupled with the former, and that the probability of one having corresponded to the other is so strong, that we ought to assume that their general character, organisation, and purpose were precisely similar. The νέοι were not a close body, elected by the βουλή, or ἐκκλησία; nor invested with the direction of any part of the civic organisation; but simply the young men, above the age of ἔφηβοι and below that of γέροντες, organised in the main on the well known ephebic model, and centring round their gymnasium.

To such an objection it may be answered at once that it is by no means necessary, nay that it is not probable in itself, that the Gerousia should have had organisation or purposes precisely similar to those of the Νέοι. The idea of organising the latter doubtless arose, as M. Collignon[1] has suggested, from the Ephebic Colleges; it being desired that the education both mental and physical of the young citizens should be continued for a certain period after the age of 20. Hence we find the most intimate connection between ἔφηβοι and νέοι in many cities: the two honour in common their gymnasiarch at Teos (Le Bas & Wadd. 105): at Cyme the people enjoin that the two Colleges should assist in a public funeral (C. I. G. 3524); at Chios a list of victors is divided into παῖδες; ἔφηβοι νεώτεροι, μέσοι and πρεσβύτεροι; and νέοι (C. I. G. 2214); and at Tralles (Bull. Corr. Hell. v. 343), at Samos (B. C. H. v. 482) and other places, we know that the latter engaged in ἆθλα, including those exercises which were prescribed for the ἔφηβοι all over the Greek world. Like the Ephebi, they have a βουλή and δῆμος of their own (Hermes 1873 no. 147), were numerous and had to be controlled by a magistrate (see inscr. of Pergamus Μουσ. τῆς Σμυρ. 1876 cited by Collignon p. 143): had a gymnasium of their own even in Athens (the Λυκεῖον); erected statues out of their own revenues (C. I. G. 3085, B. C. H. vii. 263) and sent laudatory addresses to Emperors (Hermes 1873 no. 11).

[1] *Les Collèges des* Νέοι in the Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (ii. pp. 135 foll.) to which I am largely indebted in the following remarks.

Organised they were; but so were the Ephebi. Ἡ *σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ νέων* is the phrase used by Hadrian, in thanking them for their zeal on his behalf (Hermes l.c.): they have a *συνέδριον* at Attaleia (B. C. H. vii. 263) and elsewhere: and an important inscription of Cyzicus records the recognition by the Roman Senate of their organisation (Eph. Epigr. 1877 qu. by Collignon, p. 139). But they are nowhere credited with any political or religious functions similar to those which we have ascribed to the Gerousia. But is it probable that the Gerousia, composed of men who had passed the age at which either mental or physical education was considered obligatory, and had reached a period at which the time, hitherto given to exercises, must be devoted to the service of the municipality, should show any but a nominal correspondence to the college of Νέοι? As its functions and purpose must have been entirely different, why not its organisation to meet such functions and purpose? The *νέοι* are never trusted with funds for religious ends, which is the most common aspect of the Gerousia; and if they existed at Sillyon, they participated with the common *πολῖται* in Menodora's bounty (see inscr. cit. supra) on a vastly inferior scale to the gerousiasts. Their colleges were so widely spread in Anatolia that it is more than probable that one did exist at Sillyon, and the omission of any particular mention of them in the lists is instructive as to the essential difference between their political status and that of the Gerousia. The former centred round the gymnasium because it furnished the reason for their existence; but it is needless to suppose that therefore the *γεραιοί* formed a mere club, and centred round a gymnasium in which they could no longer do anything but lounge and talk. Monsieur Waddington (Le Bas and Wadd. 1602 a) justly says, *apropos* of the only occasion on which the *νέοι* style an individual their *υἱός* in an honorific inscription[1], that 'il est fort rare de trouver les *νέοι*

[1] It confirms Messrs Waddington and Collignon's remarks on the exceptional nature of this decree, that in a similar text of Attaleia (B. C. H. vii. p. 263), although the Συνέδριον (*τῶν νέων*) *φιλοσεβάστων καὶ φιλοδόξων* joins in the decree, the person honoured is styled *υἱός* only of the *βουλή*, *δῆμος* and *γερουσία*. Did the *νέοι* ever honour a woman? I know no instance, though

exerçant une action indépendante et organisés en societé' but he is less correct in asserting of *both* the Gerousia and the Νέοι that they were not 'corps politiques.'

We are most familiar with the financial functions of the Gerousia, which both possessed large sums of money in its own right, either left by will, presented (see C. I. G. 3643), or produced by fines for violation of tomb-rights of which it had been constituted guardian; and also held much money, left to it in trust for the paying of certain honours in perpetuity to the dead. The whole of the funds in the coffers of the Gerousia seem to be designated by the term γερουσιακὰ χρήματα in an inscription of Teos (C. I. G. 3080); and we find the term ἴδιαι πρόσοδοι used, especially of its own property, which it expends (among other things doubtless) on the erection of honorific statues or decrees (Le Bas 53: Wood Inscr. fr. the City 7). For these it required a ταμίας at Cadyanda (B. C. H. x. p. 56); and to assist the Gerousia of Ephesus in recovering debts, or to check its maladministration, the Emperor Hadrian sent special instructions to the proconsul, and appointed a λογιστής (Wood inscr. fr. gr. th. 17 and C. I. G. 2987 b). The latter official is mentioned elsewhere in connection with Gerousiai, e.g. at Trajanopolis (Le Bas 1677). These special provisions very probably refer rather to the recovery of such fines as those of which two inscriptions below (nos. 3, 4) show the Gerousia of Hierapolis to have been the recipient.

In Hierapolis however we hear more of it as Trustee of special bequests for the semi-religious purpose of adornment, or maintenance, of places of burial: Menadier holds that such bequests "non publice gerusiae tradita erant sed privato contractu ab unoquoque ei mandabantur" (p. 59), for many other bodies or groups of individuals were left in charge of similar trusts. The following inscription however, which was copied by us from a sarcophagus in the Sacra Via, shows that there was at any rate a regular organisation for the reception, and recording of such trusts, and that the highest executive officials of the Gerousia sometimes administered them.

there may be such. In Waddington's inscription of Aphrodisias (just quoted), they do not join in the honours paid to Adrastus' *wife*.

1. Sarcophagus on a slight substructure of a single stone[1].

ΛΑΩΝΙΟΣΒΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣΜΟΛΥΒΔΕΝΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΑΛΛΑΠΑΔΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΙΗΑΚΟΤΟΣ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΩΙΟΓΔΟΩΠΥΞΙΩΤΗΣΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ*ΤΕΙΑΚΟΣΙΑΓΡΟΣΤΟΔΙΔΟΣΘΑΙ
ΟΥΤΟΚΟΥΑΥΤΩΝΤΟΙΣΕΛΘΟΥΣΙΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΣΙΤΟΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΚΑΣΤΩΛΑΥ
ΤΩΝΜΗΝΟΣΗΚΕΑΝΔΣΤΙΣΤΩΝΚΑ////ΟΣΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΩΝΤΟΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΤΙΚΟΝΜΗΔΙΑ
ΝΕΙΜΙΣΣΤΑΙΥΠΕΥΘΟΙΝΟΣΤΩΑΠΟΛΩΝΙ*ΚΑΘΩΣΗΑΠΟΧΗΠΕΡΙΕΧΙΗΔΙΑΤΩΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΩΝΔΟΘΕΙΣΑ ϕ ΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΟΥΣΙΝΔΕΜΟ ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΚΗΣΣΟΡΟΥΤΗΣΟΠΙΣΩΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΣ
ΤΑΥΤΗΣΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

Ἐνθάδε Ἀπολ]λώνιος β. Εὐτυχοῦς Μολυβᾶ ἐνκεκήδευται αὐτὸς, κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐ]τοῦ Ἀπολλωνὶς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος· ἄλλῳ δὲ ἔξεσται οὐδενί· (εἰ)ακότος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολ]λωνίου τῷ ὀγδόῳ πυξίῳ τῆς γερουσίας *τ(ρ)ιακόσια (π)ρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τ]οῦ τόκου αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι καὶ στεφανώσασι τὸ γεινόμενον ἑκάστῳ αὐ-
τῶν μηνὸς η′ κ′· ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν κα[τ' ἔτ]ος γυμνασιάρχων τὸ στεφανωτικὸν μὴ δια-
νείμ(η ἢ)σται ὑπεύθ(υ)νος τῷ Ἀπόλωνι * καθὼς ἡ ἀποχὴ περιέχ(ε)ι ἡ διὰ τῶν
ἀρχείων δοθεῖσα.

Ἀπολλωνὶς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος·
προνοήσουσιν δὲ μο[ι] τὰ τέκνα τῆς πατρικῆς σοροῦ τῆς ὀπίσω κειμένης·
ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

[1] Most of the following inscriptions were copied by both Mr Ramsay and

"Here is buried the body of Apollonius, son of Apollonius, son of Eutyches son of Molybas, and here shall be buried also his children Apollonis and Apollonius: and to no one else shall it be permitted. And Apollonius has left by the eighth tablet of the Gerusia 300 denaria, that what accrues from the interest thereof be given to those who have come and crowned his tomb, to each of them, on the 20th day of the 8th month. And if any one of the yearly gymnasiarchs fail to distribute the money for crowns, he shall be accountable to Apollo for as many denaria as are stated in the official quittance, granted through the Record Office.

And my children (i.e. Apollonis and Apollonius) shall see to my father's tomb which lies behind. A copy of this inscription is laid up in the Record Office[1]."

In the above inscription of Hierapolis a *στεφανωτικόν* of 300 denaria is entrusted to the eighth *πυξίον* of the Gerousia of that city. What are these *πυξία*? The word in this connection appears to be peculiar to Hierapolis; it is found in two inscriptions published in the C. I. G. nos. 3912 and 3919, and again by M. Waddington (Voy. Arch. nos. 1680 and 1681),

...καταλελοιπότος τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς γερουσίας στεφανωτικοῦ (δηνάρια) τ′ πυξίῳ ὅπου ἂν ἐνκαταληφθῶ κ.τ.λ.

...ἔδωκα δὲ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ γερουσίᾳ στεφανωτικοῦ ὀνόματι (δηνάρια) τ′ π(υξίῳ) ἐν ᾧ ἂν καταληφθῶ, πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι κ.τ.λ.

The word *πυξίον* is rendered by Franz and Waddington in these inscriptions "codicillis." Liddell and Scott have rendered it 'will', which obviously will not suit the third instance, now published for the first time. No one has attempted to explain the word more fully. *Πυξίον* occurs fairly often in later Greek, e.g. in the Septuagint—Exod. xxiv. 12, where it signifies the Tables of Stone, and also in Cant. v. 14 in the sense of a

myself: a few were seen only by Mr Ramsay.

[1] The two names in line 7 are obviously a later addition, designed to make it clear what children were intended. The whole is the work of a somewhat illiterate engraver: phonetic spelling appears in *ἠακότος* for *εἰακότος*, and *ὑπεύθοινος* for *ὑπεύθυνος*; and sheer mistakes in *τειακοσια*, *διανειμι* and *περιεχι*. The formulae are normal with the exception of the grant "*τῷ ὀγδόῳ πυξίῳ τῆς γερουσίας*" and the fine "*καθὼς ἡ ἀποχὴ περιέχει ἡ διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων δοθεῖσα*," and in these exceptions lies its importance.

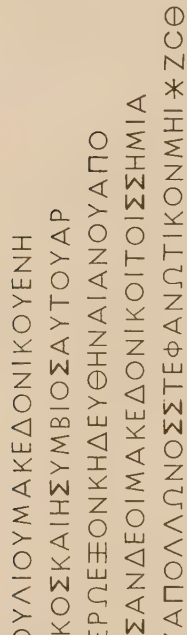
surface of ivory: Pollux makes it synonymous with δελτίον a "tablet," and Gregory of Nyssa (i. p. 681) explains its meaning very clearly as "τὸ πινάκιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων χρείαν κατασκευασμένον." Nowhere has it the sense of a "will." It seems clear therefore that τῷ ὀγδόῳ πυξίῳ τῆς γερουσίας must be rendered "by the eighth tablet of the Gerousia," in whose meeting-place there may have been boards affixed to the walls, recording different charitable bequests or other trusts, as is the case in English churches. At any rate a written tablet or perhaps book of some kind is indicated.

In the other inscriptions the word πυξίῳ occurs without qualification after the statement of the sum entrusted, and is added doubtless to make it clear that due record existed on the tablets of the Gerousia, e.g. "I gave to the most reverend Gerousia by way of crowning-fund 300 denaria—by entry in a tablet."

The phrase, by which the penalty, to be incurred by the gymnasiarch, is fixed in this instance, seems to be unique. *Apocha* is explained by Ulpian (cit. in Heph. Thes. s. v.) as that form of quittance which only absolves if the money has actually been paid over, as contrasted with "*acceptilatio*," to which "liberatio contingit, licet pecunia soluta non sit."

Such a form of receipt the gymnasiarch would receive from the officials of the Record Office on drawing out the annual sum for the στεφανωτικόν; and for this sum he is liable if he has failed to distribute it for the purpose intended by the testator. A second inscription, copied by us, relates to a similar στεφανωτικόν:

2. Sarcophagus.



Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ βωμὸς Ἰουλίου Μακεδονικοῦ, ἐν ᾗ
κηδευθῆ(σονται) ὁ Μακεδονικὸς καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Ἀρ(τεμίδωρα)
Ἰουλία, καὶ μηδ[ενὶ] ἑτέρῳ ἔξον κηδευθῆναι· ἂν οὐ, ἀπο-
τείσει τῷ φίσκῳ ∗ φ', ἢ ὅσ' ἂν δέοι· Μακεδονικοὶ[1] *τοῖς σημια-*
φόρου(ς) τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος στεφανωτικὸν μη(νὸς) ι' ∗ ξθ'
καὶ (μηνὸς) α' γ' ∗ ξθ'.

[1] Μακεδονικοί must be a mistake for Μακεδονικο(ῦ), the genitive absolute being the more usual formula (v. no. 1, supra). The verb is understood. Σημ(ε)ιοφόροι are strange priests for Apollo Archegetes: the word, when not used in a military sense, seems to signify always "wonder-workers," and is so used of Daniel in the Apophthegmata Patrum (Patrol. Graeca vol. 65. 160) *εἰδὼς ὅτι σημειοφόρος ἐστι ὁ γέρων, καὶ εἴ τι αἰτεῖ τῷ θεῷ ἀποκαλύπτει αὐτῷ*

Two more inscriptions from the same site exhibit the Gerousia in the character of the recipient of fines for violation of burial rights, a perquisite often shared by the fiscus (see inscr. no. 2, supr. and many others), by the Ἱερώτατον Ταμεῖον, and by the treasuries of local deities e.g. Apollo (no. 1 supra).

κ.τ.λ. So we find σημειοφόροι πάτρες in Cyrillus Scythopol. Vit. Sab. 301 c (Coteler. III.) and in Anastasius Sinaita (Patrol. Gr. vol. 89. 140).

Now Hierapolis was a city where mystic cults flourished, as for instance that of the ἔχιδνα (Anast. Sin. p. 429, Coteler. III. etc.), and it is not difficult to conjecture what part θαυματουργοί may have played in the worship of Apollo Archegetes: but it is also possible that in this inscription σημειοφόρος means simply 'banner-bearer,' a local name given to the priests, because of the part played by them in the religious festivals and processions.

The amount of the στεφανωτικόν, those to whom it is committed for administration, and the manners of its payment are alike unusual. The sign C occurring after the first numeral can only signify the thousand: other signs with the same meaning are I or Z. But 7009 denaria is an odd sum to be paid in the 10th month, and on the 3rd day of the 1st month.

3. Sarcophagus.

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν [βωμὸς Κ]λαυδίας Νηρείν[ης, ἐν ᾗ] κηδεύονται αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς· ἑτέρ[ῳ] δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται κηδευθῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κηδεύσας ἀποτείσει προστείμου Ἱεραπολειτῶν γερουσίᾳ (δηνάρια) Φ'.

The fine in this case is fixed at a not uncommon amount: but the majority of such penalties are in thousands, from one (see following inscription) up to ten, or (in Syria) to even millions. But, as M. Reinach points out (Traité d'Épig. Gr.

p. 430), these heavy sums fall in the days of the depreciation of the coinage; the amount of the penalty may be said to increase with the date: this inscription would be accordingly fairly early, probably 2nd century.

4. Sarcophagus.

line 4. The sixth letter from the end has been engraved **O** and corrected to **Λ**.

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ Λόνγου στρατιώτου, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδευται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἰουλία, κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόδρυς Ἀπολλωνίδου Λόνγος· ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται κηδευθῆναι ἢ κηδεῦσαί τινα εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς συνχωρήσει· εἰ δέ τις τῶν προγεγρα[μμένων] ἄλλο τι ἐπιχειρήσει, ἀποδώσει τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ γερουσίας δηνάρια χίλια.

Κόδρυς, like Νικωμήδης in no. 9, appears to be a genitive form. The whole formula is imitated from the Latin method of designating a citizen.

The remainder of the inscriptions which we copied at Hierapolis are ordinary epitaphs calling for no especial remark: I append them here for want of another opportunity: anyone who goes to Hierapolis with appliances for turning over the fallen sarcophagi will find a great number of new texts.

5. Sarcophagus.

ΗΔΕΤΕΡΑΣΟΡΟΣΗΕΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΠΟΣΙΗΝΗΣ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΤΕΡΩΕΞΕ
ΣΤΑΙΠΩΛΗΣΑΙΗΞΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΣΑΙΚΑΘΟΝΔΗΠΟΤΕ
ΤΡΟΠΟΝΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΗΞΑΛΛΟ
ΤΡΙΩΣΕΙΤΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΔΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΝΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΦΙΣΚΩ
ΧΑΤΟΥΤΟΝΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

Ἡ δ' ἑτέρα σορὸς ἡ ἐπικειμένη Ποσιήνης Ἰουλίας· οὐδενὶ δ
ἑτέρῳ ἔξεσται πωλῆσαι ἢ ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι καθ' ὃν δήποτε τρόπον
εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσει ἢ ἐξαλλοτριώσει τι τῶν προδηλου
μένων ἀποτείσει τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) ᾱ· τούτο(υ) ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη
εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

6. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΑΣΚΛΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΠΙΟΥΑΤΤΙΑ
ΚΟΥΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗCΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣ....ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΑ
ΑΥΤΩΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΕΞΕCΤΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΚΗΔΕΥCΑΙΤΙΝΑΕΙΔΕΜΗΟΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΣ
ΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΚΥΡΙΑΚΩΦΙΣΚΩ ✻ ΒΦΚΑΙΤΗΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΒΟΥΛΗ ✻ ΒΦ
ΚΑΙΤΩΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΝΤΙ ✻ ΒΦΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΤΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

'Η σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Ἀσκλᾶ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Παπίου Ἀττιακοῦ· ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς [καὶ ἡ] γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Εὐτυχία καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἔξεσται ἑτέρῳ κηδεῦσαί τινα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κηδεύσας ἀποτείσει τῷ κυριακῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) $\bar{\beta}\phi'$, καὶ τῇ Ἱεραπολιτῶν βουλῇ (δηνάρια) $\bar{\beta}\phi'$, καὶ τῷ ἐκδικήσ(α)ντι (δηνάρια) $\bar{\beta}\phi'$· τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

The penalty in each case is certainly 2500 denaria, not 502.

7. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟΣΕΦΟΥΚΕΙΤΑΙΑΥΡΝΕΚΗΣΙΙΑΚΟΝΙΟΥΜΕΝΑΝ
ΔΡΟΥΕΝΗΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΚΕΝΑΥΡΦΙΛΩΤΑΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΣΥΝΤΡΟΦΟΝ
ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΗΝΕΙΚΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΤΕ
ΚΝΑΑΥΤΗΣΑΥΡΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΚΑΙΦΛΛΓΛΥΚΩΝΙΣΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥ
ΔΕΝΕΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΚΗΔΕΥΣΕΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΕΙΔΕΜΗΑΠΟΤΕ
ΙΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ⁂ΦΚΑΙΤΩΕΓΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΙ⁂ΦΤΑΥΤΗΣ
ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

'Η *σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος, ἐφ' οὗ κεῖται, Αὐρ.* Νε(ι)κης (Π)*ακονίου Μενάνδρου, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδευκεν Αὐρ.* Φιλώταν *τὸν ἑαυτῆς σύντροφον, κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡ* Νείκη, *κηδευθήσονται δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς Αὐρ.* Εὐτύχης *καὶ* Φλ(α). Γλυκωνὶς· *ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδεν(ε)ὶ ἔξεσται κηδεῦσ(αι) ἢ κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) φ', καὶ τῷ ἐ(κ)δικήσαντι (δηνάρια) φ'. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.*

8. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΣΜΑΡΚΙΑΣΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ
ΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΞΕΤΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΣΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΣΠΑΣΣΤΙΛΛΑΣ
ΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΜΑΡΚΙΑΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΥ
ΤΑΙ
ΚΑΘΩΣΤΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΤΤΑΙΤΑΠΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΣΜΑΡΚΙΑΣΕΑΝΔΕΕΤΕΡΟΣΤΙΣ
ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΔΩΣΕΙΤΩΙΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ∗Φ

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Αὐρηλίας Μαρκίας Ἀττάλου, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται Αὐρήλι(ο)ς Καρποφόρος Πασσιλλας καὶ Αὐρηλία Μαρκία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καρποφόρου καθὼς προγέγραπται, καὶ τὰ παιδία τῆς Μαρκίας ἐὰν δ' ἕτερός τις κηδεύθῃ δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) φ'.

9. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΜΟΤΑΛΙΔΟΣΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ
ΑΥΤΟΣΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΕΙΔΕΜΗΟΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΣΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΔΩΣΓ . Ω⁎ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΤΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

Ἡ σορὸς Νικομήδυς Ἀπολλωνίου Μοταλίδος, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς· ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κηδεύσας ἕτερον δώσ[ει τῷ φίσκ]ῳ (δηνάρια) . . . τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

For the genitive form Νικομήδυς cf. no. 4. Nicomedes' grandmother is mentioned, perhaps because his grandfather was *ἄδηλος* (cf. *πατρὸς ἀδήλου* supra p. 73). The lady is particularized apparently by the ethnic of her village, Motala, or Motella; her real name being unknown to her grandson as well as that of his grandfather. Other instances of descent traced on the female side are recorded by Prof. Sterrett, Epigr. Journey in Asia Minor ii, nos. 21, 27. Such isolated cases cannot be interpreted as survivals of ancient 'mutterrecht': they must simply be taken as *πατρὸς ἀδήλου*.

10. Sarcophagus.

ΗΕΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΤΡΥΦ
///ΝΟΣΕΥΣΥΧΟΥΣΕΠΟΙΘΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΦΛΑΥΩΝΟΣΕΝ-ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤ
ΑΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΑΛΛ
ΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΙΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΕΙΔΕΜ//ΤΙΣΥΠ
///ΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΑΠΟΔΩΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΙ////ΔΗΝ
ΑΡΙΑΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΤΑΥΤΗΣΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΝΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘ
ΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΙΑ

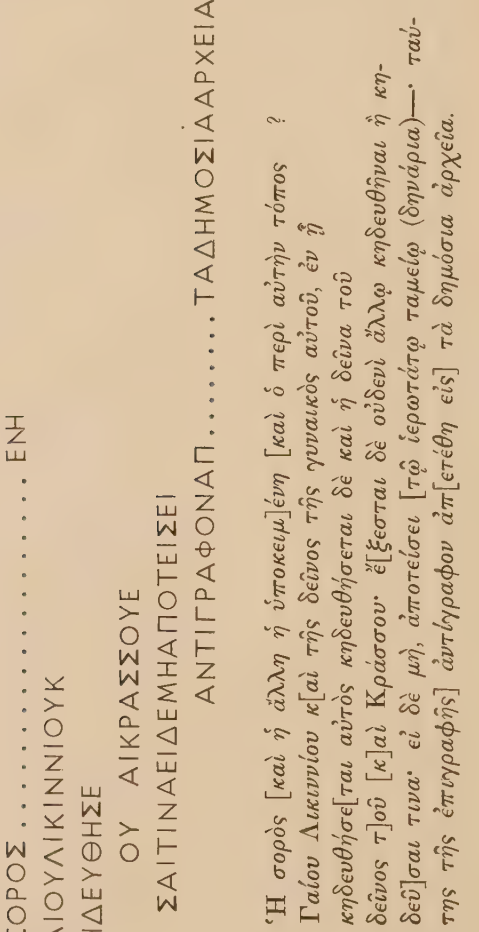
Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος* Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Τρύφ-
ω]νος Εὐ[τ]ύχους Ποιθοῦ τοῦ καὶ Φλαύωνος ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσετ-
αι αὐτὸ(ς) καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Εὐτυχία καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· ἄλλ-
ῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι κηδεῦσαι ἢ κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὶς ὑπ-
ε]ν́αντιον ποιήσει, ἀποδώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμί[ῳ] δην-
ά́ρια πεντακόσια· ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀν(τι)γράφου ἀπετέθ-
η εἰς τὰ ἀρχ(ε)ῖα.

This inscription shows the usual careless and illiterate mistakes which are always to be looked for when the final letters of words are allowed to stand alone at the beginning of lines, as in ll. 4 and 7. Of course such a general principle does not apply to texts cut *στοιχηδόν*: but in later times good engravers were careful to avoid such inconvenient and arbitrary divisions.

In this inscription we notice Ⅽ for Ⅰ in line 2 and Ⅿ corrected to Ⅾ in the penultimate place in the same line; Ⅴ for Ⅽ in line 3, and two letters of *ἀν(τί)γραφον* are omitted in line 6.

Τις in line 4 has the sense of *ὅστις*.

11. Sarcophagus, much mutilated.



Ἡ σορὸς [καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἡ ὑποκειμ]ένη [καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος ?
Γαΐου Λικιννίου κ[αὶ τῆς δεῖνος τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ
κηδευθήσε[ται αὐτὸς κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ
δεῖνος τ]οῦ [κ]αὶ Κράσσου· ἔ[ξεσται δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ κηδευθῆναι ἢ κη-
δεύ]σαι τινα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει [τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια)—· ταύ-
της τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς] ἀντίγραφον ἀπ[ετέθη εἰς] τὰ δημόσια ἀρχεῖα.

12. Three sarcophagi grouped with two others on the top of a massive stone base. The other two inscriptions we had yet to copy, when compelled to leave Hierapolis.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΥΠΟΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΜΑΥΡΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΔΙΣ
/////ΔΟΥΚΕΟΥΠΟΑΥΤΗΝ ////////////////ΤΙΔ

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΥΠΑΥΤΗΝΒΩΜΟΣΣΥΝΤΩΘΕΜΑΤΙΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΟ
ΔΟΤΟΥΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΥΕΝΗΣΟΡΩΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΟΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟ
/////////////////Λ ////////////Ο
/////////ΔΕΥΘΙΝΑΙ ////////ΤΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗΣ
//////////// ΙΑ//////ΥΡΙΟΥ////Ο
/////////ΟΝΤΑΙΟΙΟΝΟΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣ

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΟΥ ΛΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΑΝΤΑΤΙΟΥ

(i) Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν τόπος* Μ. Αὐρ. Λουκίου δὶς
Ἀττιά]δου? *κὲ ὁ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν* [*τόπος* . . . . . .

The letters after Ἀττιάδου are very faint and scratchy, and as they appear to repeat the previous line are probably due to the idle freak of some passer-by.

(ii) Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ ὑπ' αὐτὴν βωμὸς, σὺν τῷ θέματι* Εὐτύχους Ἀπολλο-
δότου Μαρκιανοῦ, ἐν ᾗ σορῷ κηδευθήσεται ὁ Εὐτύχης *καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτο*[*ῦ*
[*ἡ δεῖνα, κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα* . . . . . *οὐδενὶ δὲ*]
ἄλλῳ ἔξεσται κη]*δευθῆναι·* [*ἐὰν δέ*] *τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσ*[*ῃ δώσει*
τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ✳ *ἀργ*]*υρίου* [*καὶ παρὰ τούτων τῶν προ-*
γεγραμμένων] *κηδευθήσ*]*ονται οἷ*[*ς ἂ*]*ν ὁ* Εὐτύχης *συνχωρήσ*[*ῃ.*

(iii) Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος* [Γαί]*ου* [Αὐρη]*λίου* Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀναντατίου.

13. Sarcophagus.

ΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΜΑΓΝΟΥ
ΕΡΑΝΟΥΛΕΓΙΩΝΟCΤΕCCΑΡΕCΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ
ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΟΜΑΓΝΟΣΚΑΙΗCΥΝΒΙΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΙΛΑΡΑ
ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΔΙΑΦΕΡΙΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡ
ΗCΥΧΙΩΔΙΣΕΚΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗCΕΩCΑΤΤΑΔΙΑΝΟΥΠΑΠΙΟΥ
ΠΑΝΤΑΓ ΔΕC Η

(1) Ἡ *σο*]ρὸς *καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος* Αὐρηλίου Μάγνου [*οὐετ-ερανοῦ λεγιῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης· [ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται ὁ* Μάγνος *καὶ ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ* Ἰλάρα.

(2) Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος διαφέρ(ε)ι* Μάρκου Αὐρ. Ἡσυχί(ου) *δὶς ἐκ παραχωρήσεως* Ἀτται(λ)ιανοῦ Παπίου.

14. A sarcophagus near a ruined church.

ΚΑΙΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟC
ΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙ
ΤΙCΜΕΤΑΤΑΥ

Ὁ *τόπος*] *καὶ περίβολος* [*τοῦ δεῖνος· οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔξεσται*] *κηδευθῆναι* [*ἢ κηδεῦσαί τινα· εἰ δέ*] *τις μετὰ ταῦ*[*τα κηδεύσει κ.τ.λ.*

15. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΑΝΦΙΑΣΓΛΥΚΟΝΟΣΤΟΥΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΛΙΒΟΝΟΣΕΝ-ΚΕΚΗ
ΔΕΥΤΑΙΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΗΣΓΛΥΚΩΝΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΟΙΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΛΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΜΥΡΤΙΧΟΥΚΑΙΟΑΝ-ΡΑΥΤΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΜΥΡΤΙΧΟΥΚΑΙΟΕΚΓΟΝΟΣΑΥΤΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΤΕΡΟΝΚΗΔΕΥΣΕΙΔΩΣΕΙΤΩΦΙΣΚΩ✳ΑΚΑΙΕΣΤΑΙ

ΕΝΟΧΟΣΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΙΑ

Ἡ σορὸς Ἀ(π)φίας Γλύκονος τοῦ Ἀττάλου Λίβονος, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδευται αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς Γλύκων καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος οἱ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μυρτίχου καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μυρτίχου καὶ ὁ ἔκγονος αὐτῆς Ἀπολλώνιος· ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον κηδεύσει δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) ᾱ· καὶ ἔσται ἔνοχος τυμβωρυχίᾳ.

16. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΒΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥΜΥΛΛΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ

ΗCOROCKAIAICYMΠAPAKEIMENAICOROIAΛΛAITPEICKAIOΠEPIAYTACTOΠOC
CKXωρηθειcανyνδωρεαcχαριnyποκλμογλογεcτινaγραkyλa
ΔOCAPICTIΔOYIEPAΠOΛITOYENHKHΔEYΘHCETAIΔAYTOCKAIHГYNHAYTOYZHNωNIC
KAITAΠAIΔIAETEPωΔEMHEZEINAIKHΔEYCAIΠΛHNωNAYTOCBOYΛHΘHEIΔEMHГEOTO
YTOΠOIHCACΔωCEITωIEPωTATωTAMIω

* ϵ

Ἡ σορὸς Μενάνδρου β΄. τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Μύλλου νεωκόρου.

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ αἱ συμπαρακείμεναι σοροὶ ἄλλαι τρεῖς καὶ (ὁ) περὶ αὐτὰς τόπος (ἐ)κχωρηθεῖσα νῦν δωρεᾶς χάριν ὑπὸ Κλ. Μούλου ἐστὶν Αὐρ. Ἀκυλᾶδος Ἀριστίδου Ἱεραπολίτου, *ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ζηνωνὶς καὶ τὰ παιδία· ἑτέρῳ δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι κηδεῦσαι πλὴν ὧν αὐτὸς βουληθῇ· εἰ δὲ μήγε, ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δηνάρια)* ε̅.

17. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟΣ·⁻·Λ·ΙΟΝΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΚΑΙ

'Η *σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος ...* 'Ασκληπιάδου *καὶ....*

18. Hierapolis.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟΣΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥ
ΜΥΡΟΝ /. . . . / ΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΔΙΣ
ΤΟΥΜΟΣΧΑΒΟΤΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕ
Ν ////////

'Η *σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν Ποπλίου Αἰλίου 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ Μυρον[ίδου] καὶ τῆ]ς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ 'Αντιοχίδος 'Απολλωνίδου δὶς τοῦ Μοσχᾶ Βοτωνος καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐ[τῶν]. 'Ετέρῳ δὲ οὐδεν[ὶ ἔξεσται κηδεῦσαι κ.τ.λ.*

19. Hierapolis.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΑΛΦΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΑ
ΥΤΟΥΕΝ-ΙΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑΔΑ
ΜΙΑΝΟΥΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ

'Η *σορὸς* 'Α(π)φίου *τοῦ* 'Αρτεμιδώρου *καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾗ κεκηδευται αὐτὸς κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ* 'Αχιλλεία Δαμιανοῦ *ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.*

20. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΜΑΥΡΟΥ
ΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΗΓΥ
ΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΜΑΡΙΑΚΑΙΤΑ
ΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΑ

Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος*
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μαύρου
ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυ-
νὴ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλία Μαρία *καὶ τὰ*
τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγγονα.

The name Maria proves that the inscription is Christian.

21. Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟ ΣΕΡΒΗΝΙΟΥΥΟΥΠΛΑΤΙΝΑΤΕΡΤΙΟΥ
ΤΕΚΝΩΝΑΤΥΟΥΣΥΝΧΩΡΩΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ

Ἡ *σορὸ*[ς Λουκίου] Σερβηνίου (Λουκίου) *υἱοῦ* Π(*α*)λατινᾶ Τερτίου [*καὶ τῶ-*
ν] *τέκνων αὐτοῦ· συνχωρῶ* Ἀπολλων[*ίῳ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐν-*
θάδε] *τεθῆναι* [*οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.*
vel simile quid.

The name is that of a Roman citizen, of the Palatine tribe. This is so obvious that we are justified in supposing that the father's name has been omitted by sheer accident.

22. On the opposite side of the sarcophagus last-named.

ΗCΟΡΟCΑΧΟΛΙΟΥΑΜΜCΙ
ΑΝΟΥΜΟΛΥΒΑΕΚΠΡΟΓΟ
ΝΕΙΚΗCΔΙΑΔΟΧΗC

Ἡ *σορὸς* Ἀχολίου Ἀμμ(*ε*)ι-
ανοῦ Μολυβᾶ *ἐκ προγο-*
ν(*ε*)*ικῆς διαδοχῆς.*

23. Sarcophagus, with inscription never completed.

ΗCΟΡΟCΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟCΜΑΥΡ

Ἡ *σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος* Μ. Αὐρ.—

(24) Sarcophagus.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΤΙΚΛΑΣΠΡΗΝΑΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΔΟΣ
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΝΗΣ

Ἡ σορὸς Τι. Κλ. Ἀσπρηνᾶ καὶ Αὐρη. Διονυσίδος Μακεδονιανῆς.

(25) Sarcophagus, broken on right side.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟΣΚΑΘΟΝΚΕΙΤΑΙΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝ
ΤΟΠΟΣΚΑΘΩΣΟΠΗΧΙΣΜΟΣΔΙΑΤΗΣΚΤΗΣΕΩΣΔΗΛΟ
ΤΑΙΑΜΜΙΑΝΟΥΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΜΥΡΟΠΩ
ΛΟΥΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΩ
ΦΗΤΙΛΛΑΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ
ΦΟΑΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΡΧΕΙΟΙΣ

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος καθ' ὃν κεῖται καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος, καθὼς ὁ πηχισμὸς διὰ τῆς κτήσεως δηλο(ῦ)ται, Ἀμμιανοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Μενάνδρου μυροπώλου ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἡρωφήτιλλα Ζωσίμου. Τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀντίγραφον ἀπόκειται ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.

καθὼς ὁ πηχισμός κ.τ.λ. must refer to the plan of the ground appended to the deed of purchase: *κτῆσις* seems to be used of the terms under which property is held, or even of the deed itself by Posidonius ap. Athen. vi. p. 274 *τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν κτῆσιν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἀπερίεργος χρῆσις*; and therefore I translate here "and the plot about it, as the cubit-measurement thereof is shown by the deed of purchase."

At Mr Ramsay's request I append in conclusion the full text of the important Christian inscription, first published by Monsieur Waddington (Le Bas and Wadd. 1687): corrected in several important particulars by Mr Ramsay in footnotes to the Revue Archéologique 1887, Chronique d'Orient, p. 354, and the American Journ. of Arch., Antiquities of S. Phrygia, p. 6, and commented on very fully by him also in the Expositor, Dec. 1888, pp. 414 foll.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝΤΟΠΟΣΣΥΝΤΩΥΠΟΚΙΜΕΝΩΒΑΘΡΙΚΩ
ΜΑΡΑΥΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΚΟΡΙ^ΣΚΟΥΕΠΙΚΛΗΝΑΣΒΟΛΟΥΝΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ
ΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥΚΕΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΠΕΡΙΩΝΤΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΩ
ΟΝΑΝΒΟΥΛΗΘΩΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΕΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΙΔΕΜΗΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΙ
ΠΡΟΣΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ⁂ΦΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ⁂Φ
ΟΣΟΝΑΝΠΟΡΙΣΗΣΒΙΟΝΩΦΙΛΕΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑΕΙΔΩΣΟΤΙΤΟΤΕΛΟΣΥΜΩ
ΤΟΥΒΙΟΥΤΑΥΤΑ

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος σὺν τῷ ὑποκ(ε)ιμένῳ βαθρικῷ
Μαρ. Αὐ. Διοδώρου Κοριάσκου ἐπίκλην Ἀσβόλου ν(εωτέρου) ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται
αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· περιών τε κηδεύσω
ὃν ἂν βουληθῶ, ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποτείσ(ε)ι
προστείμου τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ⁂ φ'. καὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ γερουσίᾳ ⁂ φ'.
ὅσον ἂν πορίσῃς βίον, ὦ φίλε παροδεῖτα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν
τοῦ βίου ταῦτα

ΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΨΑΔΕ ΚΑΙΤΩCΥΝΕΔΡΙΩ
ΤΗCΓΡΟΕΔΡΙΑC ΤΩΝΠΟΡΦΥΡΑ
ΒΑΦΩΝ✳ΤΙC ΑΠΟΚΑΥCΜΟΝ
ΤΩΝΠΑΠΩΝ ΤΗΘΕΙΜΩΗΜΕΡΑ
ΕΚΤΟΥΤΟΚΟΥΑΥΤΩΝΕΙΔΕΤΙCΑΜΕΛΗCΕΙ
ΑΥΤΩΝΤΟΜΗΑΠΟΚΑΥCΑΙΓΕΝΕCΘΑΙΤΟ
ΚΑΤΑΛΕΛΕΙΜΜΕΝΟΝΤΗCΕΡΓΑCΙΑCΤΗCΘΡΕΜ
ΜΑΤΙΚΗCΚΗΔΕΥΘΗCΕΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗ

Κατέλειψα δὲ καὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ
τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυρα-
βάφων ✳ ,γ ἰς ἀποκαυσμὸν
τῶν παπῶν τῇ ἐθιμῷ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν· εἰ δέ τις ἀμελήσει
αὐτῶν τὸ μὴ ἀποκαῦσαι, γενέσθαι τὸ
καταλελειμένον τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς θρεμ-
ματικῆς· κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνή.

I must refer the reader to the *Expositor* for Mr Ramsay's translation and interpretation of this interesting inscription. Several slight variations from M. Waddington's text will be noticed in the first part; but the most important correction occurs in the second, the 'codicil' to the will, viz. for *προσδείας*, an unknown and unintelligible word, we now read *προεδρίας*. Mr Ramsay, assuming the inscription to be of Christian origin, partly on the evidence of the 'surname' in part I., reads into its unusual phraseology esoteric meanings, veiled owing to the dangers which beset Christians before the era of Constantine. For instance, he believes that *πορφυραβάφων* (a word

not used elsewhere in Hierapolitan inscriptions) was understood by the initiated in the passive sense "dipped in purple", i.e. "washed in blood", and so as a synonym for the Christians of Hierapolis. So again the *ἐργασίας τῆς θρεμματικῆς* = "the society of the sheep", i.e. the Christian flock. Against these two interpretations there is nothing to adduce except the fact that the prominent position in which this sarcophagus stands is not very consistent with any idea of concealment. But this theory is confessedly based on the apparent impossibility of any other interpretation, and on a comparison of several other inscriptions where such difficulties occur (though the knowledge of Greek displayed by the writers makes it improbable that they were guilty of gross faults of ignorance and incapacity to express themselves) and that the Christians of the period "avoid drawing attention to themselves by marked peculiarities and profession: they use the same names and express themselves in almost the same terms as their non-Christian neighbours: objects and ideas which are strictly Christian are indicated by ambiguous terms or by terms otherwise unknown and unintelligible": and especially that this "document reads at a cursory glance very like an ordinary epitaph-testament, and yet it is full of subtle differences".

To a third point, however, in Mr Ramsay's interpretation there is a more decided objection, namely, to the conjecture that *παπων* is a mystic word, meaning something known only to the initiated, perhaps candles. I would ask firstly, what object there could be in concealment? secondly, why a word well known as meaning 'presbyters' should be employed? It seems more probable that the money was left for the *ἀποκαυσμός* of the presbyters: though what is to be burnt it is impossible to say. The fact that we have both *ἀποκαυσμόν* and *ἀποκαῦσαι* and that at least three copyists have read these words independently, precludes the chance of their being misread for *ἀποκλυσμός*, and *ἀποκλῦσαι*: nor is it easier to see what *ablution* could be intended. Neither *ἀποκαυσμός* nor *ἀποκλυσμός* is to be found in any lexicon: but both are very possible forms. On the whole I can only conclude that the former is right; that something is to be burnt; and that we

must remain in ignorance of what that something is. In any case the evidence for the Christian origin of the text is not shaken, but rather confirmed [1].

D. G. HOGARTH.

[1] I append a note which I have received from Mr Ramsay since the above was in type.

[The remarks in the last two paragraphs appear to me not quite to apprehend my position. I have in the *Expositor* strongly emphasized the prominent position of the sarcophagus; and I have argued at length that the Christians were the most numerous and almost the ruling element in the people of Phrygia during the third century. The object of the precautions which I have traced in the documents left by them was not exactly concealment but legality. So long as concealment was necessary, they left little or nothing that we can trace as Christian. From 200 A.D. onwards they were the dominant caste, and had nothing to dread except from overt breach of the law. Their principles, as I have shown, discouraged them from flaunting their religion in an injudicious way, and led them to try in all permissible ways to accommodate themselves to the Roman law. The method they employed was the 'legal fiction'. The law would not recognise bequests to a society of Christians; they therefore registered themselves as *γειτοσύνη τῶν προτοπυλειτῶν*, or *πορφυράβαφοι*, or some other such inoffensive name, and the law permitted bequests to this association.

I have no love for my suggestion about the word *παπων*: it was professedly a *dernier ressort*, and I can only say that it still seems to me not absolutely impossible. But I cannot accept Mr Hogarth's suggestion that it means presbyters. I have been forced to the conclusion that the terms denoting officials of the church are not admitted in public inscriptions of Phrygia till the church was legalised by Constantine. The proedroi of the Porphyrabaphoi were the presidents of a legal association, though behind that was doubtless concealed their station as presbyters. The word *ἀποκαυσμόν*, read by M. Waddington, Mr Hogarth, and myself, independently, will I think be generally admitted; and I have no objection to the conclusion that we must be content to be ignorant of the nature of the *παπων* which were burned.]

NOTES IN LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

Actus of a way of living: add to the instances in my Contributions to Latin Lexicography p. 32, Dig. 49 16 2 12 *inspecto vitae eius praecedentis actu.*

Addere animum, virtutem, metum &c. in the sense of inspiring courage, alarm, or the like. This phrase is found in Plautus Amph. 250 R *additus animust nostris:* Ter. Heaut. 542 *animum addere.* It is not, however, I believe, found in Cicero's speeches nor in Caesar, nor in Quintilian. But Cicero has it in a letter to Atticus (Att. 7 2 4 *animos addere*); ib. 16 3 1 *auges mihi scribendi alacritatem* is probably the right reading for *ages addis* of M, *addis*, as the editors have seen, being a gloss on *auges.* Sallust has *addere regi formidinem* I. 37 4; *multum animis eorum addidit* ib. 75 9; *virtutem timidis addere* ib. 85 50; 94 2 *ceteris audaciam.* The author of the *Bellum Africum* (Asinius Pollio according to Landgraf and Wölfflin) has *addere animum* four times, 48 4, 52 3, 75 3, 87 5; Livy 2 45 8 *addere impetum*, 24 36 9 *animos;* and the expression is common in Vergil, Ovid, and Tacitus. It may therefore be inferred that it was one of those phrases which were avoided by the strictly classical writers, but adopted in colloquial and also in poetical Latin.

Affectus (1) in the sense of feeling, emotion (Contributions, &c. p. 69). Add Annaeus Seneca Contr. 2 11 8 p. 142 Bursian, *multi me adfectus diducunt:* 2 pr. p. 115 B *cum veros compressisset adfectus:* Contr. 9 24 7 *diversi sunt hominum adfectus; tu fortasse, Callia, vincula non potes ferre, ego adulteram uxorem.* (2) In the sense of love, affection; Annaeus Seneca Contr. 7 7 p. 230 B *paternus adfectus;* 7 21 19 p. 226 B *scio cuius in nos adfectus sit.*

Animola = *olentem animam habens.* In Plautus Miles 647 Rib. (654 Tyrrell) the old man Periplecomenus, after giving a long catalogue of his agreeable social qualities, says according to the editors *Venerem amorem amoenitatemque accubans exerceo: Post, Ephesi sum natus, noenum in Apulis, noenum Aminulae* (MSS *non suminimula*). All that is known of Aminula is —nothing. Paulus p. 25 is generally quoted as evidence that Aminula was a small town in Apulia; but the best MSS there give *animula.* Now Philargyrius on G. 2 134 has the following note on *animas et olentia Medi Ora fovent illo: 'olentia' et ad animas est referendum, et subaudiendum 'male olentia'; sic Plautus in Milite Glorioso 'tum in Apulis non sum natus, non sum animula.'* Whatever else, it seems clear that the writer of this note took the line in Plautus as referring in some way to unpleasant breath. This sense would easily be elicited if we supposed that Plautus *more suo* was coining a comical name of a town *Animola* ('Bad-breath'). Then, as he has just said *non in Apulis,* the wooden-headed ancient commentators took *Animola* to be the serious name of a small town in Apulia: the moderns, not liking the look of *Animula* for the name of a town, altered it into *Aminula.* But read *non sum animola,* and harmony is at once established between the reading of BCD *non sum inimula,* Paulus's *Animula,* and the *animula* of Philargyrius, 'I was not born in Apulia; I don't come from Bad-breath.' Perhaps too in *Apulis* there may be a pun upon *aper.*

Area (1) of a bare patch on the ground: Columella 2 9 8 (2) of square measurement; Frontinus Aq. 26 *omnis autem modulus colligitur aut diametro aut perimetro aut areae mensura:* comp. ib. 29 *quae habet areae, id est luminis in rotundum coacti, digitos quadratos viginti quinque* (Contributions, &c. p. 269).

Ars. For *secundum artem* = according to rule (Contributions &c. p. 289) add Serv. Aen. 10 885 *secundum artem militiae.*

Audeo = *volo* (Contributions &c. p. 371): add Lucr. 5 730 *amplectier ausis.*

Caracutium. The Vatican glossary of the seventh century recently edited anew by Goetz has an interesting note on this

word, which supplements the note in Isidore 20 12 3; '*caracutium' vehiculum altissimarum rotarum capsique devexi, quo solo in Campania pro* (l. *per*) *harenas silvae Gallinariae verevantur* (l. *vehebantur*) *antequam lapide stenerentur* (l. *sternerentur*).

Catervatim. Another instance of this word should be added to the lexicons from *Bellum Africum* 32.

Cedens dies (Contributions etc. p. 409); add Digest 36 2 throughout; Cod. Iust. 6 53, but particularly Ulpian quoted in Digest 50 16 213 '*cedere diem' significat incipere debere pecuniam: 'venire diem' significat eum diem venisse quo pecunia peti possit. Ubi pure quis stipulatus fuerit, et cessit et venit dies; ubi in diem, cessit dies, sed nondum venit: ubi sub condicione, neque cessit neque venit dies pendente adhuc condicione.*

Cilicium. The dictionaries do not quote Isidore 19 26 10 *cilicia Arabes nuncupant velamenta pilis caprarum contexta, ex quibus tentoria faciunt.*

Cognitor praediorum, the person whose duty it was to inspect *praedia,* or landed securities, and satisfy the interested party as to their condition, Lex Malacitana 63 (p. 139 Bruns).

Consaepta = saepta; the pens in which the voters in the comitia were separated for convenience of voting, Lex Malacitana 55 (p. 135 Bruns).

Contextus generis, family connection, Scholia Bobiensia to Cicero *Pro Plancio* c. 24, p. 264 Orelli.

Cornocerasus, the name of a tree, Servius on Georgic 2 18: the wild cherry. *Arbor 'cerasus,' pomum 'cerasium' vocatur. Hoc autem ante Lucullum erat in Italia, sed durum, et cornum appellabatur; quod postea mixto nomine 'cornocerasum' dictum est.*

Dignus rei publicae. This phrase is given by most of the MSS. of Cicero *Pro Balbo* § 5, and by the best MS. of the Second Philippic § 56 (*hoc dignum r. p. videtur, vir bonus et r. p. dignus*). The expression occurs several times in the Pompeian inscriptions (= "deserving your suffrages") C. I. L. 4 220, 221, 230, 566, 702, 768, *dignus re publica,* according to Zangemeister, being never found. I am inclined therefore to think that it should be restored to Cicero ll. cc.

Exerte in the sense of 'openly': add to the instances in the lexx. Schol. in Cic. Sest. c. 17, 19 (pp. 297, 298 Orelli).

Exoletus: Paul. 80 M *qui adolescere, i.e. crescere, desiit* (comp. *effetus*); and this explanation is usually adopted. But a better explanation is suggested by Gloss. Vat. p. 69 a 25 Goetz, *exsolescere est in duritiem verti gratiamque aetatis amittere*, as though from a lost verb *solesco* to become solid, standing to *solidus* as *nitescere* to *nitidus*. Columella 3 11 2 *vineta quae longo situ exoleverunt:* 3 12 3 *raram terram ...sole ac vento penitus siccari atque exolescere:* Apul. M. 29 32 *lactucae veteres et insuaves illae quae seminis enormi senecta ad instar scoparum in amaram caenosi sucus cariem exolescunt.*

Expeto. The intransitive meaning of 'falling out,' 'happening,' is relegated by Lewis and Short to the end of their article. But it should be remembered that *peto* is properly speaking an intransitive verb expressing motion, as falling or going, a meaning clearly discernible in the compounds *competo* and *appeto*. Probably, therefore, the intransitive use of *expeto* is the earlier.

Ferre se in the sense, apparently, of moving with conscious pride: not quite = *se iactare*, and yet with more than the idea of simple motion; Verg. Aen. 1 503 *talem se laeta ferebat* (*Dido*) *Per medios;* 5 372 *qui se Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat:* 8 198 *illius* (*Vulcani*) *atros Ore vomens ignes magna se mole ferebat:* 9 597 *ingentem sese clamore ferebat;* 11 779 (of Camilla) *captivo sive ut se ferret in auro;* perhaps Horace 1 Epist. 17 22 *quamvis fers te nullius egentem.*

Honoratus. "Honoured, respected; honourable, respectable, distinguished"; Lewis and Short: "geehrt, angesehen, ehrwürdig"; Georges and Mühlmann. Both lexicons, wrongly, as I think, separate this meaning from another, 'honoured by a post of office.' I will try to shew, from the numerous instances collected by Georges and Mühlmann under the first meaning, that *honoratus* when applied to a person always implies the distinction conferred by some definite *honor*, whether it be public office or some other mark of public confidence; that, in short, the lexicographers have confused *honestus* and *honoratus*. Plautus Capt. 277 *quo de genere gnatus illic Philocrates?*

Polyplusio, Quod genus illist unum pollens atque honoratissumum; i.e. *quod plurimos honores gessit.* Cicero Legg. 1 § 32 *propter honestatis et gloriae similitudinem beati qui honorati sunt, miseri autem qui inglorii: honores* or offices confer something like *honestas* and *gloria,* but not the things themselves; *inglorii* merely means 'unknown.' Brut. § 281 *cum honos sit praemium virtutis,...qui eum sententiis, qui suffragiis adeptus est, is mihi et honestus et honoratus videtur,* where as in Livy 36 40 9 (*satis honestam honoratamque imaginem*) *honestus* is the more general expression, 'honourable': N. D. 3 § 87 *quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis;* Off. 1 § 138 *dicendum est etiam qualem hominis honorati et principis domum placeat esse* where the instance given is that of Cn. Octavius, *qui primus ex illa familia consul factus est;* Orator § 32 (*Thucydides*) *cum praesertim fuisset honoratus et nobilis,* referring to the post held by Thucydides at Amphipolis; Cato Maior § 22 *manent ingenia senibus...nec ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita privata et quieta* (the reference is clearly to public life); pro Plancio § 19 *hic est e praefectura Atinati, non tam prisca, non tam honorata, non tam suburbana,* as opposed to Tusculum, *ex quo sunt plurimae familiae consulares;* Nepos, Chabrias 3 4, *Athenis et honoratus et potens,* referring to his post of command; ib. Eumenes 1 1 *multo illustrior atque etiam honoratior;* Horace 1 Epist. 1 107 (*sapiens est*) *liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;* like the great king he has freedom and commanding position: the last line of Propertius, *cuius honoratis ossa vehantur avis;* Livy 4 35 8 *apud plebem, pro qua dimicaverit, nihil se honoratiorem fore,* where the meaning is that the tribune cannot hope that the *plebs* will help him to any higher office than that of plebeian tribune: 3 58 2 *virum honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani iuris,* the reference being to the decemviral office.

In other instances quoted in the lexicons before us, *honoratus* as applied to persons avowedly bears the meaning in question. Will it then still be contended that *honoratum Achillem* can give any satisfactory meaning in Horace A. P. 120?

Invectio = invective: add to Georges's instances Schol. Bob. in Cic. Vatin. § 13, p. 317 Orelli.

Ius commune. Add to Contributions etc. p. 509 the *Spicilegium Solesmense* Exodus v. 442 (p. 89 Mayor) *ius omnes commune tenet;* the reference being to circumcision.

Lateo with the accusative = escape the notice of: add *Bellum Africum* 56.

Praeiudicium in a literary sense, Servius Aen. 11 593 *haec in oeconomia praeiudicium nominantur, quotiens negotii futuri exitus tollitur; vult enim de Camillae cadavere nihil amplius expectare:* an anticipated narrative.

Pronus = favourable, kindly: add C. I. L. 9 3429 (Peltuinum) *ea adfectione adque prono animo circa nos agere coepisse.*

Ratio in the sense of reasoning with a person, counsel: Bellum Alexandrinum 8 *Caesar suorum timorem consolatione et ratione minuebat.*

Reprehendo. The following meanings of this word require more distinct recognition than is given to them in the current lexicons; (1) To take back, i.e. publicly cancel an act: Cicero Agr. 2 § 26 *ut esset reprehendendi potestas, si populum beneficii sui paeniteret;* comp. Pro Plancio § 8 *ut reprehensores essent comitiorum.* (2) To publicly expose a person or his evil conduct: to confute him or his false statement; Cicero Verr. 2 1 § 11 *qui in eo quoque audaciam eius reprehendant quod...detraxerit.* Font. § 3 *accusatos et reprehensos videmus testibus;* Cluent. § 98 *cum in eodem genere in quo ipsi offendissent, alios reprehendissent;* Cael. § 62 *quae quidem, iudices, perfacilem rationem habeant reprehendendi:* ib. § 65 *quem quo modo illi reprehenderent?*

Res Publica. In the tenth volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum, p. 1155, Mommsen has the following important remark: *res publica in titulis in Italia scriptis non populum significat, sed populi patrimonium. Magistratus et officiales quicumque rei publicae vocabulum adsumunt, bona publica tractant; ita curator rei publicae* etc. So far as it goes, this fact seems to confirm the view which I have taken in my 'Contributions' that *res* originally meant 'wealth' and *res publica* the wealth, and so interest, of the *populus.*

Retinentia in the literal sense, Ti. Donatus on Aen. 11 492 *diuturna retinentia vinculorum illis (animalibus) admodum gravis est.*

Scabellus, scabellum, scamnellum, scamillus. The form *scabellus* is found, if Arevalo and Lindemann may be trusted, in Isidore Orig. 20 11 8, and in Beda p. 489 K according to the Paris and Montpellier MSS, though the rest give *scabilla.* The neuter *scabillum* is given by the MSS of Cato R. R. 10 4, Varro L. L. 5 168, Cicero Cael. § 65, Arnobius 2 42, 7 32. Quintilian 1 4 12 asks *cur ex scamno scabillum* (or *scabellum*): Scaurus p. 14 K says *alii scamillum, alii scabillum dicunt;* the writer De Dubiis Nominibus p. 590 K lays down the rule *scamillum generis neutri, sicut scamnum, ut Varro in Actionibus Scaenicis.* Priscian 1 p 111 K *scamnum scamellum* (or according to some MSS *scamnellum*); but he quotes Apuleius (Hermagoras 1) for *scamillum,* no doubt neuter. Thus a neuter *scamillum* is recognized as existing by Terentius Scaurus and Priscian, though the surviving writers according to their MSS usually have *scabillum. Scamnellum,* which may be a grammarian's figment, is taken from Priscian l.c. by the author of the Ars Anonyma Bernensis p. 71 K. Vitruvius twice has the masculine form *scamillus,* 3 4 5 and 5 9 4. *Scabillarii,* not *scabellarii,* C. I. L. 9 3188 (Corfinium).

'*Scorioballum,* ance a cogwhele': so the glossary edited by Wülcker p. 610 27; another gloss in the same work gives '*striaballum* the cog of a welle'. May these difficult words be corruptions of *tribulum*? Varro L. L. 1 52 (*tribulum*) *fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro asperata, quo inposito auriga...trahitur..., aut ex axibus dentatis cum orbiculis, quod vocant plostellum poenicum;* Servius on Georg. 1 164 '*tribulum*' *genus vehiculi omni parte dentatum, unde teruntur frumenta...*'*traha*' *vehiculum est a trahendo dictum, nam non habet rotas.*

Subdere, of giving landed property (*praedia*) as security; Lex Malacitana 63 p. 139 Bruns *quaeque praedia subdita subsignata obligatave sint;* Cic. Verr. 2 1 § 144 *D. Bruti, cuius praedia suberant.*

Telum in the sense of an engine, Bellum Africum 31 7 *scorpionum, catapultarum, ceterorumque telorum quae ad defendendum solent parari:* perhaps too in Vergil Aen. 8 694 *telisque volatile ferrum Spargitur.*

ADVERSARIA.

Plautus.

Miles Gloriosus 654 Tyrrell. See above, p. 103.

Rudens. Prologus 60 *Id hic est Veneris fanum, et eo ad prandium Vocavit adulescentem huc.* So the MSS: Schöll writes *et eadem ad prandium* etc. Perhaps *eo* may have been a gloss upon *inde*, and the right reading may be *exinde ad prandium* etc., 'then he invites the youth.'

Ib. 468. *Commodule melius; tandem vero serio.* Mr Geldart, of Balliol College, suggested to me *commodule μέλλεις* 'you delay'; which seems better than anything yet proposed, certainly better than Schöll's *melli's.*

Ib. 509. *Quam quae Thyestae quondam anteposita est Tereo.* Starting from Bentley's *posita et*, we may perhaps correct thus: *quam quae Thyestae quondam aut positast Tereo.*

Ib. 533. *Utinam fortuna nunc anatina uterer.* Perhaps *nunc anatina abuterer; abuti* meaning 'to enjoy to the full'. The duck has the privilege not only of going into the water, but of coming out dry.

Ib. 538. Labrax. *Qui?* Charmides. *Qui auderem tecum in navem ascendere* etc. So A, which after the *qui* of Labrax has a mark of omission. For *qui auderem* the other MSS have *quia auderem.* Schöll reads *quia id auderem*, suggesting in his appendix *qui aviderem.* I should prefer L. *Qui?* Ch. *Qui? qui auderem: πῶς; ὅπως; ὅστις* etc.

Ib. 566. Sceparnio. *Vel ego amare utramvis possum, si probe adpotus siem.* Labrax. *Nempe puellae?* Schöll reads *pullae* for *puellae:* if a change be required, which is doubtful, perhaps *puerae* might be better.

Ib. 574. *Recipe me in tectum, da aliquid vestimenti aridi* A: *vesti aliquid aridi* BCD. Schöll, after Fleckeisen, prints *da mihi vestimenti aliquid aridi.* A more rhythmical ending would be *da vestimenti mi aliquid aridi.*

Ib. 663. *Sed eccas ipsae huc egrediuntur timidae efandae* (or *aefandae*) *mulieres.* For *efandae* Bothe and after him Fleckeisen read *e fano:* Schöll *ac pavidae.* I agree with Schöll that another adjective is probably required, but *ac pavidae* is very poor after *timidae.* I suggest *exsangues.*

Vergil.

Aeneid 5 602. *Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.* The *game,* according to Servius or rather Suetonius, was called *Troia; ut ait Suetonius Tranquillus, lusus ipse, quem vulgo pyrrhicham appellant, Troia vocatur, cuius ipse originem expressit in libro de puerorum lusibus.*

The line as the tradition gives it seems to me untranslatable, and the corruption to lie in the word *pueri,* which may have crept in as a gloss on *agmen.* Ti. Donatus says *denique ne origo istius ritus saeculis labentibus interiret, quum quotannis ludus ipse replicatur, Troia dicitur, et Troianum agmen asseritur;* thus apparently understanding the poet to mean that the game was called *Troia,* the troop *Troianum.* The line may have originally run *Troiaque nunc cursus* (or *lusus*), *Troianum dicitur agmen.*

Tacitus.

Dialogus de Oratoribus 28 *quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas* etc. Comparing Aen. 4 531 *oculisve aut pectore noctem Accipit;* 9 276 *te...iam pectore toto Accipio;* I am disposed to think that Tacitus wrote *toto statim pectore acciperet* rather than the less poetical *arriperet.* Compare Lucan 1 63 *si te pectore toto Accipio;* Quintilian 2 7 3 *eam formam orationis quam mente penitus acceperint.*

Ib. 31. *Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum artem* (so B: *čitem* A: *civitatem* B^2), *sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet.* The corrupt *artem* seems to

me to cover some word meaning *ideal* or *pattern*; was it the Greek *ἀνδριάντα*? or its Latin equivalent *statuam?* Compare Plato Rep. 2 361 *ὡς ἐῤῥωμένως ἑκάτερον, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα, εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἐκκαθαίρεις τοῖν ἀνδροῖν*; and Demosthenes's taunt to Aeschines, *λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσήκειν τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ ξυγγραφήν.*

The Latin Heptateuch,

as critically reviewed by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, 1889.

No book published in recent years has shewn such a mastery of Latin textual criticism as this. A few notes have occurred to me in reading it, of which the following are specimens.

Genesis 147 (p. 11 M) *quod propter gelida Cain incanduit ira.* Read *calida.*

Ib. 154 *deserto in gramine* from Aeneid 12 664.

Ib. 307 (p. 17 M) *pinna plaudente volucrem.* Aen. 5 515 *alis Plaudentem...columbam.*

Ib. 323 *acri Venatu adsuetus.* Aen. 7 747 *adsuetaque multo Venatu nemorum.*

Ib. 366 (p. 19) *at qui sermone benigno Commoda denarrat, sit laetus et grandior actu* C. *Sit laeto grandior actu* Mayor; perhaps *laeto sit grandior auctu* might be a slight improvement.

Ib. 537 (p. 30) *solvitur in tremulos vultu crispante cachinnos.* Persius 3 87 *ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.*

Ib. 747 (p. 39) *Praedives* is Vergilian: Aen. 11 213 *praedivitis urbe Latini.*

Ib. 770 (p. 41) *ne commota levi cupidine turba Philisti* etc. Mayor corrects *ne laeva commota cupidine.* Perhaps *ne commota levi cuppedine.*

Ib. 799 *tempore quo medios evolvunt sidera cursus.* Perhaps *medio se volvunt sidera cursu;* Aen. 4 524 *cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu.*

Ib. 1199 (p. 58) *semine cassis:* Lucr. 4 368, Aen. 2 85 *cassum lumine:* 11 104 *aethere cassis.*

Ib. 1280 (p. 62) *ingravat haec dictis Rubenus* etc. Aen. 11 220 *ingravat haec saevus Drances.*

Spicilegium Solesmense v. 51 (p. 74) *nimbosas arces.* Aen. 3 274 *mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis* etc.

Ib. 81 (p. 75) *sed mirum, quo mage tristi Laborum sub fasce fuit hoc cuncta iuventus, Fortior emicuit.* Mayor's *lictorum* for *laborum* is one of the most brilliant things in the book. For *hoc cuncta* he proposes *confecta* or *consumpta.* Rather, perhaps, *contunsa.*

Ib. 251 (p. 81) *candore nivali* is from Aen. 3 538.

Ib. 410 (p. 87) *ipsius a solio regis* Aen. 6 396.

Ib. 489 (p. 90) *iamque accelerans procurva ad litora rubri Marmoris admorat* etc. The true correction may be *iamque viam celerans, viam* having dropped out after *ue* of *que.* Aen. 5 609 *illa viam celerans.*

Ib. 551 (p. 93) *his aliud magis miseris multoque tremendum Ingeritur magis et sensus affligit inertes.* The last few words are Mayor's certain correction for *sensusque affligit inertes.* The first line should run *his aliud maius miseris* etc. Aen. 2 199 *his aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum Obicitur magis.*

Ib. 829 (p. 101) *hinc festus viget ille dies hinc semper acerbus, Semper honoratus* etc. Aen. 5 49 *dies...quem semper acerbum, Semper honoratum, sic di voluistis, habebo.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

NOTES ON THE VATICAN GLOSSARY 3321 (Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, vol. IV, ed. Goetz, Leipzig 1889). The citations are made according to the pages and lines of this edition.

Page 3 22 *Abiurat reprobat aut negat vel plorat.* For *plorat* read perhaps *periurat.*

4 6 *Abutitur contemnit.* Compare 4 49 *abusive despecte;* see my "Contributions to Latin Lexicography" s. v. *abusio.* Commodian Instr. 2 15 9 *abuteris Domini mandata* (neglect or despise). 2 22 4 *luxuria suadet, abutere; bellum vicisti.*

4 12 *Abiurae furatae.* Read *abiuratae:* Aen. 8 263 *abiuratae rapinae.*

4 21 *Aborigines combene origines:* read *Aborigines convenae:* then probably *oblitae originis,* from the *abavus* glossary in the same volume p. 302 2.

4 22 *Abnuit negat aut consentit.* Read *abnuit negat, adnuit consentit.* I may remark that when two glosses have become confused, as here, this glossary often makes matters worse by adding *vel* or *aut* to the interpretation of the second.

4 32 *Aberit discedit.* Perhaps *abaetit.*

4 44 *Absono absurdum vel prospero.* Read perhaps *absurdo vel aspero.*

5 5 *Abodos dementes id est dementicus.* Perhaps *ἄφρονος dementis...dementici.* The word *dementicus* should be added to the lexx.

5 10 *Abiurgare negare.* Read *abiurare.*

5 24 *Aboletur doletur.* Read *deletur.*

5 25 *Abnexus adligatus.* Read *adnexus.*

5 40 *Accentus sonus inflammatio vel vociferatio.* Read *accentus sonus vel vociferatio. Accensus inflammatio.*

6 1 *Accisis circumcisis.* Read *ancisis:* so too 7 6.

6 2 *Acutum cito.* Read *actutum.*

6 35 *Acirologia propria.* Probably for *impropria dictio.*

7 1 *Agnonitus qui nulli communicat.* Read *acoenonetus.*

7 3 *Accentu impetu. Ancentu?* or *accensu?*

7 43 *Adoptat adfiliat.* The word *adfilio* should be added to the lexx.

8 11 *Adita viscera inferiora.* Read *adyta mysteria interiora.*

9 27 *Adrectores imitatores.* Read *adsectatores;* unless indeed a word *adsector* really existed.

9 29 *Adtenso neutruti.* Probably *οὐδετέρᾳ neutrubi.*

9 30 *Adtaforos communis.* Read *adiaphoros.*

9 47 *Adsuescent adnexuissent vel consuissent.* Read probably *adseruissent adnexuissent. Adsuessent consuessent.*

10 26 *Adrobrus gallus de gallia.* Read *Allobrox.*

10 30 *Adsultibus adsumere saltibus.* Read *adsultibus saltibus. Adsumere sumere.*

10 40 *Adcertio evocatio.* Probably *accersito evocato.*

11 51 *Aevum iter longincum.* Perhaps *avium.*

12 11 *Aenatores coniciens.* Read *aeneatores cornicines.*

12 16 *Aegrae vis.* Read *aegre vix.*

12 18 *Aepas horientalis.* Read *Eous.*

12 29 *Aepos versus heroicus quod ipsi dicuntur iestaeor.* Read perhaps *epos versus heroicus quod epica* (or *ἔπη?*) *dicuntur gesta heroum.*

12 39 *Affluit abundat.* From the reading of *a, affuit,* write *afluit.*

13 24 *Agenevotes hii qui se sanctificant.* Perhaps *ἁγιᾶν ἑαυτούς dicuntur ii,* etc.

13 34 *Agonotheta praemii indultor.* Notice *indultor* in the sense of 'giver.'

13 41 *Agina hictus vel quadrudine prespicitur.* Perhaps *agina hasta qua trutina perspicitur.*

14 26 *Alea ludum tabulae aquod ã mago elea nomine qui hoc ludum invenit id est iocum.* Read perhaps *a quodam*

magistro Aleu nomine, qui hunc ludum invenit in otio (for *i.e. iocum*): Isidore Orig. 18 60 *alea, id est ludus tabulae inventa a Graecis in otio Troiani belli a quodam milite Alea nomine* etc.

14 39 *Alant spernant.* Read *spirant.*

15 34 *Alidit abscondit.* Read *abdit.*

16 36 *Amnueram contraxeram.* Read *contradixeram.* See Löwe, Prodromus Glossariorum p. 421.

16 46 Note the word *recertator* as a translation of *antagonista.*

17 4 *Anediosus taediosus.* Read *accediosus.*

17 24 *Ante regimen parietum.* Perhaps *antae tegimen parietum.*

17 40 *Angiportum androna viformium vel callem.* Perhaps *angiportum callem. Androna virorum* [*aedes*].

18 12 *Anedia* (*anilia a* and *b*) *fatuites amentia.* Read *anilitas.*

18 25 *Anasceue instructio.* Perhaps *anasceue infectio*, or *infitiatio; catasceue instructio.*

19 24 *Aprilas calox.* Perhaps *apricitas calor.*

19 27 *Apagete aperite.* Perhaps *apagite abaetite.*

19 31 *Apoplanescis anticipatio.* Perhaps ἡ πρόλημψις.

20 25 *Arrux aruspex.* Perhaps *ariolus.*

20 29 *Arvi graeci.* Read *Achivi.*

20 40 *Arcet ab ariditate.* Read *aret.*

20 42 *Arce artificiose.* Read *artĕ.*

21 4 *Arcepta genus vasis ut pigella.* On *artepta* or *artopta* see Löwe, Prodromus p. 259. Can *pigella* be a corruption of πύελος?

21 8 *Aruas demonas.* Read *heroas.*

21 17 *Arictat percutit.* Read *arietat.*

21 30 *Arrecti erecti extersi* etc. For *extersi* read *exerti.*

21 36 *Arsis evatio.* Read *elevatio.*

22 22 *Aufertice ablativus.* I can find no other instance of this bastard Greek term.

22 43 *Atheus ars moralis.* Read ἠθική.

23 12 *Auiustrum amplificatum.* Probably *augustum.*

23 17 *Auttetus non aliter.* Read *haud secus.*

23 19 *Avitum duabis adrelictum.* Read *ab avis relictum.*

23 27 *Auribus plautis, placidis et ingentibus.* For *placidis* read *flaccidis:* Paulus p. 231 Müller *plauti appellantur canes quorum aures languidae sunt ac flaccidae et latius videntur patere.* Perhaps, then, *ingentibus* should also be altered to *languentibus.*

23 50 *Ausi precepi.* Read *hausi percepi:* Aen. 4 359 *vocemque his auribus hausi.*

24 15 *Baccane herba iocundior.* Read *baccare herba iucundiore.*

24 16 *Balbiger stultus.* See "Contributions" etc. p. 392 where I have conjectured *barbiger.*

24 33 *Bacue clamare.* Perhaps *vagire.*

25 14 *Beedi Thebani.* Read *Boeotii.*

25 46 *Bipatentibus ianuis apertis.* Read *ianuis bis* (from *uis*) *apertis:* "Contributions" etc. p. 395.

25 54 *Bident a dextra porta capent.* This looks like *bidental a dextra ad portam Capenam.* I can find no support for this conjecture: but perhaps the gloss in Paulus p. 33 M (*bidental dicebant quoddam templum*) may be based upon the localization of a particular *bidental.*

25 61 *Bibolatio designatio.* Perhaps *violatio dissignatio.*

26 5 *Bidubium que post duos maritos biduatur.* Read *bividuam quae...viduatur.* The word *bividuus* does not appear in the current lexicons.

26 6 *Bibium due vidue.* Read *bivium duae viae.*

27 2 *Bucerum vox inepta.* For *bucerum* read perhaps *βάκηλον.*

27 21 *Cabo caballus.* Add this to the instances quoted in "Contributions" etc. p. 398.

27 27 *Capillascit capillis porrectus.* Is *capillascit,* which Georges quotes as sound, a mistake for *capillosus?*

27 41 *Casses reda leporum.* Read *retia.*

27 52 *Caniles ex farina et aqua coquitur.* Discussed by Löwe Prodromus pp. 315, 316. Perhaps *caniceus* (*panis*); for *canicae* means bran; Paulus p. 46 M etc. On p. 28 5 for *canice recremeo,* which Löwe gives up, I suggest *canicae recrementa.*

28 36 *Caminus proximus.* Perhaps *communis.*

28 44 *Candentia sidera declivia, occidentia.* Read *cadentia.*

29 6 *Cana coma silvestria.* Read *corna poma s.*

29 37 *Camba cavis.* Perhaps *cumba navis.*

30 1 *Calabrum genus versuum malorum quasi colobon vel ioculariuin.* A confusion between *Calabrum* and *colobon.*

30 7 *Cantarinum vel cantarum equus castratus alii saumarium vocant. Saumarius* should be added to the instances in Georges under *sagmarius.*

30 13 *Candius vestis regia.* Read *sandyx.*

30 36 *Cabrones girgalos bespas maiores arboribus.* Perhaps *girgalos* stands for *scarabeos;* Isidore Orig. 12 8 4 *crabrones vocati a cabo, i.e. caballo, quod ex his creantur. Sicut autem crabrones nascuntur de equorum carnibus putridis, ita ex his saepe nascuntur scarabaei, unde et cognominati sunt.* Perhaps then *cabrones* (from *cabus*) may be sound.

30 44 *Cava cornea bucina.* Probably *tuba cornea.*

30 48 *Carecto papyrionem.* Read *carecta,* and add *papyrionem* to the one instance of the word in Georges.

31 2 *Clavis manicae timonis.* Apparently for *clari manicae temonis* or *clavus manica t.* I can find no other instance of this use of *clavus,* but others may be able to do so; meanwhile the gloss deserves attention.

31 5 *Canamaula lanuginem habentem idest citoneae.* Read *cana mala, lanuginem habentia, id est cydonia:* Verg. Ecl. 2 51 and Servius there.

31 7, 10 Add these instances of *cartallum* to those in Georges.

31 37 *Celeber frequens festinus.* Read *celeber frequens, celer festinus.*

33 3 *Cercilius navicula.* Read *cercurus.*

33 4 *Ceco mare nocturno bello.* Read *caeco Marte.*

33 13 *Cetra genus scuti Marsici, vel scutum sine ligno.* Isidore in the corresponding passage, Orig. 18 12 5, has not *Marsici* but *Mauri,* and the citations in the lexx. confirm the latter.

33 14 *Cetus mulieres capillus ad fronte.* Read probably *antiae mulieris c. a. frontem.*

35 9 *Citerum aliquid exinde citiararum.* Probably *Cythera insula, a. e. Cytheriacum.*

35 12 *Clybanar quasi tunica ferrea.* Read *clybanarius.*

36 53 *Cogitarium donatio imperatoris.* Read *congiarium.*

37 58 *Conmanipularius:* add this instance to the one in Georges.

38 1 *Conciliabulum ubi plures sui iura sedent.* Perhaps *ubi plures cives iura petunt.*

38 20 *Conspiceret inferret.* Perhaps *intueretur.*

42 40 *Concinnat artem facit aut componit.* For *artem* read *apte.*

43 19 *Contersurum migraturum.* Read *concessurum.*

44 49 *Coarcuatio concameratio.* Add *coarcuatio* to the lexx.

48 31 *Decrastinatio,* the interpretation of *conperendinatio,* should be added to the lexx.; as also (45 42) *compugnatio* = a fight.

46 40 *Cundi scivus potera.* Read *cymbium, scyphus, patera.*

47 9 *Culine facere.* Probably *culinae foricae*: see "Contributions" etc. p. 425.

47 19 *Curulisella a curru qui equi de currucules dicuntur.* Read *curulis sella a curru, quia equi de curru curules dicuntur.*

48 2 *Dracontia gemma ex cerebro.* Add *draconis* from Isidore 16 14 7.

48 6 *Daticius dediticius.* See Löwe Prodromus p. 380. The word *daticius* should be added to the lexicons.

48 22 *Desitiscere contemnere.* Read *despicere.*

48 50 *Deluit lavit;* add this instance of *deluo* to those given in my "Contributions" p. 429.

49 29 *Deplacatus.* Add this to the single instance of *deplacare* given in Georges.

49 32 *Delevati de terra levati.* Probably for *relevati;* but Löwe, Prodromus p. 380, seems to regard it as genuine.

49 44 *Denundinat omnibus notum facit aut divulgat.* See Löwe, Prodromus p. 381, and add *denundino* to the lexx.

50 24 *Dedimenso tuo a mentiendo dictum a mentiendo dictum.* Perhaps *dementior a mentiendo dictum; dimensum a metiendo.*

50 28 *Despondit hic in defectionem dedit.* Perhaps *despondit, i.e. in deiectionem se dedit.*

50 30 *Desposin steriles.* Perhaps *despotici eriles.*

51 1 *Depalata devoluta designata delinita.* Probably *depalata develata. Designata delineata.*

51 2 *Depopulatio desinatio.* Probably *dissignatio:* see on 25 61; p. 116 above.

51 24 *Desituata delinita forma.* Read *designata.*

51 39 *Derectum apertum vel rectius ordinatum.* I am inclined to conjecture *detectum apertum. Derectum, rectius ordinatum.*

52 1 *Decacinnantem deridentem.* Add this instance of *decachinnare* to that in Georges.

52 7 *Delictus verrucclatus quem dicunt.* Probably for *relictus* (sc. *ager*) *verruculatus q. d.* For *relictus ager* see Frontinus De Controversiis (Agri Mensores I p. 21 Lachmann) *relicta autem loca sunt quae sive locorum iniquitate sive arbitrio conditoris limites non acceperunt:* Verg. G. 4 127 *cui pauca relicti Iugera ruris erant. Verruculatus* will mean uneven or hilly: Arnobius twice uses *verrucula* of a little hill. The word should be added to the lexicons. The last remark applies also to *despiculare* (*deispeculare*) *sagittare* 52 44.

52 55 *Deducere deponere inpellunt vel ruinam faciunt.* Probably *deducere deponere. Deruunt inpellunt v. r. f.*

53 10 *Deripiebat turpi amore diligebat.* Read *deperibat.*

53 11 *Devolato designato.* Perhaps *develato dissignato,* so 56 15.

53 12 *Decoratio dehonestatio.* Read *decoriatio.*

53 46 *Deterimi sunt proprie stercora ex frumento quae excernuntur.* Read probably *recrementa s. p. s., vel e. f. q. e.*

55 14 *Dispicatis decoriatis inruptis. Inruptis* stands for *disruptis* (55 51). I believe that two glosses have been confused: *despicatis decoriatis,* and *displicatis disruptis.*

55 37 *Dispecit secernit.* Read *dispescit.*

55 50 *Disreptum separatum desperatum.* For *desperatum* read *dispartitum.*

56 5 *Diluit pugnat defendet.* Read *purgat, defendit.*

56 9 *Diribuit obstipuit.* Read *deriguit.*

56 41 *Diaria acivos et unius diei.* Read *diaria cibos unius diei,* and notice the intrusive *et.*

57 11. *Dispuendo reiciendo.* Read *respuendo.*

57 21 *Divinior divinio a terefertio.* Perhaps *divino ex ore, prophetico* (*divino ex ore* Aen. 3 373).

57 37 *Dissoluisse contremuisse.* Perhaps *dissiluisse.*

58 3 *Disperii responde.* Read perhaps *edissere.*

58 45 *Duellio revellis* (i.e. *rebellis*). Add this instance to those given in "Contributions" etc. p. 443. Does the gloss *duelio perditis* (l. 55 below) stand for *duellio perduellio?*

59 5 *Duodecennes duodecim annorum.* Add this instance of *duodecennis* to the one in Georges.

59 10 *Ebeatus obtusus.* Read *hebetatus.*

59 33 *Educare eligere proferre liberare instruere.* Read perhaps *educere erigere, proferre, liberare. Educare instruere* (or possibly, with *c*, *instituere*).

59 38 *Edulio manducatione.* Probably *edulia apta manducationi:* see l. 48 below, *edulia apta ad manducandum.*

59 46 *Ede eousque intantum.* Probably *eone.*

59 50 *Edacitas amara commestio.* Read *avara comestio.*

60 11, 13 *Effeta sterelis sine fructu aut sine effectum: effetas sine affectu.* Perhaps in both cases we should read *sine fetu* for *sine effectum* and *sine affectu.*

60 28 *Effrenatus immoderatus arreptus.* Read perhaps *arrepticius.*

60 37 *Effeta languinia erba.* Perhaps *languentia, enervia.*

61 1 *Egoglam* (i.e. *eclogam*) *eulogia(m).* Add this gloss to my note on *Ecloga* "Contributions" etc. p. 444.

61 6 and 60 45 *Egerare dispernere detestare, Egerate execrate:* the right reading is probably *eierare, eierate.*

61 16 *Elactare e lacte tollere.* The word *elactesco*, quoted from Pliny, shews that I was wrong ("Contributions" etc. p. 446) in suggesting that *elacto* is a corruption for *delacto.*

61 32 *Eluet praefulget.* Read *elucet.*

61 35 *Eligit affligit.* Read *elidit.*

61 46 *Emax tenuis macer.* Add this to the instances in "Contributions" etc. p. 446.

62 22 *Emulcens oblectans.* Add this to the instances of *emulceo* in Georges.

62 24 *Emptorium locus ubi negotiationes exercentur.* Add the word *emptorium* to the lexicons.

62 31 *Emacitas marcitudo* (i.e. *macritudo*): add this instance to "Contributions" etc. p. 446.

63 7 *Enhermis sine arma vel sine mensura.* Read *inermis sine armis. Enormis sine mensura.*

63 19 *Enocilis piscis stagneus id est anguilla.* Read ἔγχελυς. Perhaps *stagneus* is corrupt for *stagnensis.*

63 33 *Eneas schythiae montes.* Perhaps *Haemus.*

63 39 *Eou aetas vel tempus.* Read *aeon.*

63 40 *Eous lux sibe lux.* Read *Eous lucifer, lux.*

64 25, 28 *Equotus, equatus, vita privatus.* Read *evitatus.*

65 7 *Ermana calamitas.* Read *aerumna.*

65 12 *Eruncare radicitus evertere.* Add this instance of *eruncare* to those in Georges.

65 18 *Eruatio enervatio exinanitio.* Read perhaps *eviratio.*

65 29, 30 *Erga id vacuum. Egregium circa hoc.* Read *erga id, circa hoc. Egregium magnum.*

65 33 *Esitabant commendabant aut dubitabant.* Read *esitabant commandebant. Haesitabant dubitabant.*

65 41 *Estidram quam veteres canapum nominarunt.* Perhaps *oestrum* (or *asilum*?) *quem veteres tabanum nominarunt.*

65 47 *Eutum sonum.* Perhaps ἦχον.

65 50 *Evirat examinat.* Read probably *exarmat.*

66 3 *Euro usion alterius creaturae.* Read ἑτερούσιον.

66 29 *Evis gurdus.* Read *hebes.*

66 24 *Excors sine sorte.* Read *excors sine corde. Exsors sine sorte.*

67 29 *Exuviae expoliat.* Read *spolia.*

67 45, 50 *Exerati exercitati.* Read *exerciti.*

68 3 *Extravium extraneum.* Read *extrarium.*

68 21 *Exefoedus devorandus.* Perhaps *exedendus.*

68 44 *Exacervabit aflecavit.* Perhaps *exacerbavit adflictavit.*

68 46 *Exercita exporrecta elevata.* Read *exerta.*

68 49 *Exinuat examplat exaperit.* Note the word *examplare,* which is not in Georges.

69 2 *Exoticum odibilem.* Probably for *exoticum peregrinum, exosum odibilem.*

69 25 *Exsolescere etc.* See p. 105.

69 50 *Experit rogat.* Read *expetit.*

69 51 *Exhonorare liberare.* Read *exonerare.*

70 42 *Exesesum excomestum.* Read *exessum.*

70 45 *Exuberans adfluens vel habundans.* Read *abfluens* or *afluens.*

71 7 *Exeris navis sex hordinum.* Read *hexeris.*

71 14 *Exvolatus exsutus nudatus.* Perhaps *exfafillatus.*

71 42 *Exercitatem ostendentem.* Read *exertantem.*

72 28 *Fabonius solis radius qui nonnunquam vitro aut argento repercussus fagi ac remolli fulgoris simulat claritate resplendet.* What *Fabonius* stands for I cannot imagine. The gloss is quoted by Löwe Prodromus p. 147, but not fully emended. I would propose *solis radius qui nonnunquam vitro aut argento repercussūs facit, ac tremuli fulgoris simulata claritate resplendet.*

73 6 *Facessit dicit facit libenter facit.* Probably for *facessit dicta, facit* etc.

73 46, 74 32 *Falareca genus arcae* (or *arte*) *grandis.* For *arcae, arte* read *hastae.*

74 18 *Fatuopossit feriae conveniat.* Read *factu opus sit, fieri conveniat.*

74 23 *Farcilem plenum unde factores.* Read *farsilem* or *fartilem, fartores.*

74 26 *Fassores qui aves saginant.* Perhaps *farsores* (not *fartores*): compare the forms *farsilis* and *farsio.*

74 40 *Fastus superbus elatus.* For *fastosus?* or should *superbus* and *elatus* be altered to *superbia* and *elatio?*

74 50 *Farma copula medicamenta venditorum.* Read *pharmacopola medicamentorum venditor.*

74 51 *Fatu mortuus est aut facio.* Perhaps *fatum obiit, mortuus est. Factum a facio.*

74 53 *Fatidico divinum gladium. Fatidico* seems due to the preceding gloss, *fatidica divina;* perhaps the gloss should run *fatiferum ensem, divinum gladium:* Aen. 8. 621.

75 13 *Ferrascit ferrum facit:* see Löwe Prodromus p. 362.

75 21 *Feminalis pandi femoribus immoluti uti sunt rabulae.* Read *feminales panni f. involuti:* of the last three words I can

make nothing. The word *feminalis* should be added to the lexicons.

75 48 *Fedria adulescens.* Read *Phaedria.*

75 54 *Fenium coccinum.* Probably for *minium.*

76 16 *Filargiria amicitia aut amor. Fimum pecuniae. Fimum stercus animalium.* Read *philargyria avaritia aut amor pecuniae. Fimum s. a.*

76 42 *Fibreartes iecoris vel legoris. Fibri inania.* Read probably *fibrae partes iecoris. Vel legoris* seems no more than a repetition of *iecoris* with the senseless *vel. Fibri* in the second gloss may perhaps stand for *frivola.*

77 7 *Flabrum aureincitamentum.* Perhaps *flagrum, aurigae incitamentum.*

77 9 *Flaris ventis temperantibus.* Perhaps *flabris lenibus, v. t.*

77 13 *Flammonius honor pontificalis quo quis iunctus fuerit apicem optinet dignitatum et dicitur flaminalis.* For *quo quis iunctus* read *quo qui functus.*

77 14 *Flamedia sacerdos iobis.* Read *flamen dialis.*

77 26 *Fleuma diffusio sanguinis.* Read *flemina.*

77 34 *Flabellum venticapium.* Add *venticapium* to the lexicons.

78 25 *Fortuna mors.* Read *fors.*

78 27 *Fornum calidum.* Read *formum.*

78 28 *Frons casus fortuna.* Read *fors.*

78 43 *Fucos vermiculos unde verme tinctum est.* Perhaps *unde vermiculus tinctura est:* Isidore Orig. 19 28 1 *tinctura vocatur quia tingitur, et in alium fucatum speciem nitoris gratia coloratur.* Κόκκον *Graeci, nos rubrum seu vermiculum dicimus. Est enim vermiculus ex silvestribus frondibus.*

79 18 *Fugo inpostura vitium furto.* Perhaps *fucus, furtum.*

79 19 *Furcifer infurca damnane.* Read *in furcam damnatus.*

79 37 *Furfuraculum tenebras.* Read *terebra.*

79 62 *Fundatur putatur.* Read *frondator putator.*

80 6 *Fructus confidens.* Read *fretus* (*fractus*).

80 18 *Fucatum tinctum coronatum.* Read *coloratum.*

80 24 *Fulcrum sustentatum.* Read *fultum.*

80 25 *Funesta scelerata ut funere polluta id est in mortua coinquinata.* Perhaps *aut funere polluta, i.e. mortuo c.*

80 27 *Fultum rubeum vel mundissimum.* Perhaps *fulvum rubeum. Fultum munitissimum.*

80 34, 35 Notice the spelling *fraglat, fraglantem,* found in good MSS. of Vergil and of Claudianus Mamertus; and add these instances to those quoted in "Contributions" etc. p. 463.

81 4 *Freniculus ulcera circa rostrum quae iumentis fiunt asperitate frenorum.* Add the word *freniculus* to the lexicons.

81 8 *Gl stricta clutinore.* Probably *glis, terra stricta, glutinosa:* for *glis* see Löwe, Glossae Nominum etc. p. 120.

81 10 *Ganeo tabernio.* Add the word *tabernio* to the lexicons.

81 29 *Gnarus inscius peritus.* Read *scius.*

82 12 *Gestia gaudere vul cupit optatque ret.* Read *gestire gaudere: gestit vult, cupit, optat atque avet.*

82 18 *Gentes superve afrus dicit qui carincoluat.* Read *gentes superbae, Afros dicit qui Africam colunt.* (Aen. 1 523, where Dido is said *gentes frenare superbas.*)

82 19 *Gener initium foris.* Possibly *genae initium barbae;* Isidore Orig. 11 1 43 *genae sunt inferiores oculorum partes, unde barbae incohant.*

82 21 *Genio hic convivio.* Perhaps from Persius 5 151 *indulge genio, carpamus dulcia.*

82 35 *Geta gotus poritus.* Perhaps *Geta Gotus: catus peritus.*

82 55 *Gineteum textrinum.* Read *gynaeceum.*

83 2 *Gilbus color inecomedium inter ruum et album.* Read *gilvus color in equo medius inter rufum et album* (Gloss. *Abavus,* p. 347 5).

83 4 *Glarea stricta glutinore.* Here, and in 83 34, apparently a confusion between *glis* and *glarea:* see on 81 8. *Glarea* is defined *lapilli parvi harenae maris mixti* (Gloss. *Abavus,* p. 347 7).

83 8 *Gleva cespis duris cum erua levatur glevo. Glovo arator.* Read *glaeba caespes durus cum terra sua levatus. Glaebo arator.*

84 5 *Graye grecae inmoleste.* Perhaps *Graiae Graecae* (or *Grai Graeci*) *in Molossia.*

84 13 *Grandum grandis alivi grade ias.* Probably *grandem grandis aevi. Gradivus Mars.*

84 16 *Gremium signum.* Read *sinum.*

84 22 *Gros orbis circulos.* Read *gyros, orbes, circulos.*

84 41 *Halipes ferrum.* Read *Chalybes.*

84 42 *Hareolus iocundus.* Perhaps *hilaris.*

85 1 *Has stas.* Read *istas:* and *istam* for *stam* in 85 26, 27.

85 4 *Halent spirant alias reficiunt.* Perhaps *halant spirant. Alunt reficiunt.*

85 10 *Hasse divitiae facultates.* Probably *gazae.*

85 11 *Haus profundus.* Read *Chaos.*

85 20 *Habes me nonquid habes.* Read *habesne? Numquid h.*

85 21 *Haud ospicato sine ospicio idest quod aut infurcunio.* Read *haud auspicato sine auspicio, id est quod fit infortunio.*

85 24 *Hariolus qui volatus abium offuat.* Perhaps for *observat.*

85 31 *Habet stupet.* Read *hebet.*

85 37 *Hecui alicui. Ne cui,* or *eccui?*

85 42 *Herosui viri fortes.* Perhaps *heroes sunt v. f.*

85 57 *Heresis doctrina arerendo.* Read *a legendo;* Isidore Orig. 8 3 1 *haeresis ab electione vocatur, quod scilicet unusquisque sibi eligat quod melius illi esse videtur.*

85 59 *Hedium pie divium.* Perhaps *Hyades numphae ἀπὸ τοῦ ὗειν*: compare Isidore Orig. 3 70 12 *Hyades dictae ἀπὸ τοῦ ὗειν.*

86 4 *Hemorres genus serpentis.* Read *haemorrhoïs.*

86 5 *Heluet tremet deficiet.* Read probably *horret tremit deficit.* Gloss. *Abavus,* p. 348 7 *habet* (= *hauret*) *tremit.*

86 19 *Hianio margarita pretiosa.* Read *unio.*

86 28 *Hifonia dissimulatio.* Read *ironia.*

86 39 *Historicus pantomimus qui storias scribit.* Probably *histrionicus pantomimus; historicus qui historias scribit.*

86 43 *Histispidens aruspices.* Read *extispices:* and the same for *hostispices,* p. 88 1.

86 48 *Hiliesatus in silva natus.* Perhaps *silvisatus;* though I can find no instance of this word.

86 53 *Hiulcus pastor.* Probably for *hiulcus profundus, Tityrus pastor:* comp. 87 3 *Hiticus pastor;* the reference being to Verg. Ecl. 8 55 *sit Tityrus Orpheus.*

86 57 *Hilitor ortica.* Perhaps for *helitor horticola;* the word *horticola* is clearly indicated l. 53 below, and Gloss. *Abavus,* p. 349 33 *holitur horcula,* where *horcula, horticula,* and *hortucula* are given by the MSS.

87 14 *Histromathus commentarii scientiae.* Read *chrestomathia.*

87 19 *Hiscit incidit.* Perhaps *incipit* (i.e. *loqui*).

87 25 *Hispida satis orrida vel pilosa.* Read *saetis horrida.*

87 50 *Homina auguria sive hospitia.* Read *omina... auspicia.*

89 42 *Immolat victimam fundit aut sacrificium deo honorat.* Read *immolat, molam victimae infundit, aut sacrificio deum honorat.*

89 46 *Inpagata inpulsa.* Read *inpacta.*

89 61 *Inlivendos inducendus.* Read *inlinendus.*

90 14 *Incestus adulterium in parentes.* Add this instance of *parens* = *consanguineus* to those in "Contributions," etc., p. 545.

90 20 *Inaccessas invias insinuas.* Does *insinuas* stand for *invisitatas?*

90 25 *Incestus qui commiscetur cum sorore* etc. Note this use of *commisceri,* of which Georges gives no instance.

91 8 *Inculce vitae sacerdotum.* Read *infulae vittae.*

91 10 *Inporis pauper vel inops.* Perhaps *inpos.*

91 29 *Indens inserenum demonstrans.* Read *indens inserens. Indicens demonstrans.*

91 46 *Incassum inane hacpepvacuum.* Read *ac supervacuum.*

91 47 *Indutiae vel intervallo bello manente.* Read *belli intervalla, bello manente.*

91 49 *Inbium quod ader inpost.* Read *invium quod adiri non potest.*

91 57 *Insogat incitatum vel inritat.* Read probably *instigatum i. v. inritatum.*

92 2 *Insupare inicere.* Georges has the form *insipĕre,* but not *insupare.*

92 46 *Indole ingeniose aut bone spei vel origo.* Perhaps *indoles ingeniositas, bona spes, vel origo.*

93 11 *Insulens inprudens.* Read *insulsus.*

93 31 *Infrenes inreverens vel praeces.* Probably *infrenes sine frenis:* the words *vel preces* belong to the gloss on *inferiae* two lines above.

93 40 *Infitialaetus infandum aut nec dicendum.* Probably a confusion of two glosses: *infitiabile negandum: infandum nec dicendum.*

93 41 *Infantia non fatua salsa aut fatuum efficit.* Again probably a confusion: the first gloss being an explanation of *infantia,* the second *infatuat, stultum* (? *insulsum*) *aut fatuum efficit.*

94 2 *Infidiale ius.* Perhaps the beginning of a mutilated gloss upon *ius fetiale.*

94 4 *Infilira intilira.* Perhaps *in philyra, in tilina:* Gloss. *Abavus* p. 897 15 *tilinum filurinon.*

94 16 *Inanians intente aspicit.* Perhaps *inhians, intente aspiciens.*

94 17 *Infusum destinatum.* Perhaps *infixum.*

94 19 *Indespicare adsequere.* Perhaps *investigare adsequi.*

94 22 *Indutia utilitas.* Perhaps *industria.*

94 26 *Inertia stupor dentium.* Read *inedia.*

94 35 *Integros annegni plenos iuventute.* Probably *integro sanguine, plenos iuventute.* 98 45 *integer sanguinis, plenus iuventute.*

94 37 *Inremealibus inredibilibus.* Probably for *inremeabilibus.* The word *inredibilis* should be added to the lexicons.

95 2 *Ingenere qui in erumna constitur gravissimis larguoribus confringuntur.* Perhaps *ingemere* [*dicuntur*] *qui in aerumna constituti g. l. c.*

95 15 *Inletalis inmortalis.* The word *inletalis* should be added to the lexicons; p. 96 10 *inletabilis sempiternus* stands probably for *inletalis.*

95 20 *Inletismis incogitationibus.* Perhaps *ἐν λογισμοῖς:* comp. 96 13 *inlocismis.*

95 33 *Innoxius innocenumsolutus.* Read *innocens, absolutus.*

96 23 *Inervum inflagellum vel in malum.* Read *in nervum.*

96 45 *Inplicissereat implicare.* Read *inplicisceretur inplicaretur.*

97 11 *Inpulus lenis inverbis.* Read *inpubes, levis, inberbis.*

97 15 *Inploratum inspiratum.* Perhaps for *inoptatum insperatum:* or *inploratum* may be the beginning of a mutilated gloss, and the word before *insperatum* may have been *inprovisum.*

97 42 *Inremiabile non repetendum, non reabitulandum.* Read *reambulandum* from the other MSS., and add *reambulo* to the lexicons.

98 5 *Inserens insolitus.* Read *insolens.*

98 11 *Insinuat insignibus magnificis aut indiciis.* Probably *insignit, ornat insignibus* etc.; though a form *insignat* would not be impossible. 98 22 *insignit ornat.*

99 16 *Insidiabile incredibile.* Read *insuadibile* from *a*, and add the word to the lexicons.

98 26 *Insolevit invaluit inaesit vel increvit.* One is tempted to write *inolevit;* but on second thoughts it appears possible that *insolesco* may mean to grow hard, or strong, solidify; compare the note on *exsolesco* p. 105.

98 47 *Intergumentis operaturus.* Perhaps *integumentis operculis.*

99 28 *Intermina internuntia abiecta vel mediatrix.* A confusion of two glosses: read probably *interminata abdicta; internuntia mediatrix.*

99 38 *Inuncavit manu adprehendi vim manu abstulit.* Read *adprehendit vi. Inunco* is only known to the lexicons from Lucilius ap. Nonium p. 124 Mercier.

100 13 *Invectere lacessire vel insidiare.* Read *inlectare lacessere vel insidiari.*

100 17 *Inventaria facilis aut invenienda res.* If this gloss, which is repeated three lines below under *invehitur*, be sound, the adjective *inventarius* in a passive sense should be noted.

100 19 *Invado insecuro.* Probably for *insequor.*

101 25 *Incute inferum inice vel immitte.* Perhaps *incute vim, infer* etc. Aen. 1 69 *incute vim ventis.*

101 29 *Indurat transfigurat.* Read *induerat transfiguraverat;* Aen. 7 20 *induerat Circe in voltus ac terga ferarum.*

(To be continued.)

H. NETTLESHIP.

ON SOME PASSAGES OF THE SILVAE OF STATIUS.

te signa ferente
Et minor in leges iret gener et Cato pacis
At laterum passus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.
L. I. 1. 27—30.

(The reading given is in every case that of Bährens, the latest editor.) This passage is very perplexing and the substitution of pacis for castris without MS. authority is a desperate expedient. Yet if any word in the passage is corrupt it must be castris, for the sense pleads strongly for retaining the rest as it stands. I suggest that we should read Castris for castris, and accordingly I take the meaning to be 'Pompey would have surrendered to you, and Cato would have done the same at Castra.' Now Castra Cornelia was a strong position about a mile from Utica, and if Cato wished to defend the town, he must have garrisoned Castra which overlooked it. Caesar mentions the place (de bello civili II. xxiv. 2 Cicero cum equitatu antecedit ad castra exploranda Corneliana quod is locus peridoneus castris habebatur), and Statius may have written Castris here as practically identical with Utica.

Dextra vetat pugnis Latium: Tritonia virgo
Non gravat et sectae praetendens colla Medusae
Ceu stimulis accendit equum; nec dulcior usquam
Lecta deae sedes. nec sic, pater, ipse teneres
Pectora, quae mundi valeant evolvere curas.
En, cui se totis Temese dedit hausta metallis,
It tergo demissa clamys.
l. 37—43.

But in l. 37 pugnas : laevam has better authority, in l. 40 Ca give si for sic, and in l. 42 En cui is Bährens' emendation, et quis is the reading of A and et qui of C. I read without any change of the MSS. as follows :

Dextra vetat pugnas ; laevam Tritonia virgo
Non gravat et sectae praetendens colla Medusae
Ceu stimulis accendit equum ; nec dulcior usquam
Lecta deae sedes, nec si pater ipse teneres.
Pectora, quae mundi valeant evolvere curas,
Et quis se totis Temese dedit hausta metallis.
It tergo demissa clamys.

Statius has previously described the horse, he goes on to describe the rider. First we have the right hand, then the left, next the chest, and lastly the back. With this explanation there is method and order in the whole passage, whereas Bährens by his reading makes Statius mention the right hand, and omit the left, describe the cloak which covers the back, and totally disregard the emperor's chest. The MS. reading is in short convincingly right. I should translate 'His right hand bids wars cease : the maid of Triton is no burden to his left as holding out Medusa's severed neck she seems to spur on the horse : nor has the goddess chosen anywhere a dearer resting place, not even if thou her sire wert holding her. Then the breast able to unravel the cares of the world, and on which Temese has lavished all its ore. Down from his back droops the cloak.'

Macte toris, Latios inter placidissime vates,
Quod durum permensus iter certisque sub oris
Prendisti portus.

L. 1. 2. 201—203.

There is no excuse for this emendation of Bährens : Ca read coeptique laboris : I propose labores and translate, 'a blessing on your marriage...for having finished your long journey and the toils of your essay you have gained the harbour.'

Haec per et Aegeas hiemes Hyadumque nivosum
Sidus et Oleniis dignum petiisse sub astris,
Quam Maleae credenda ratis Siculosque per aestus
Sit via.

L. I. 3. 95—98.

Quam is a correction of Bährens; si is the reading of Ca; if it is kept the sense is clear, 'It is worth while to journey hither in the depth of winter even if you should have to sail past Malea and through the straits of Sicily.'

teneamus adorti
Tardantis jam fila colos.

L. I. 4. 63—64.

Tardantis is Bährens' correction for tendatis of Ca: I feel sure that the only change necessary is colus for colos. (For colus nom. plur. cf. Stat. Thebaid III. 242, nigraeque sororum Juravere colus.) I translate 'Let us up and hold back the threads, and lengthen them out ye distaffs.' If further proof is needed that my reading is right, the evidence of Bk. III. l. 171, 172 is convincing, 'Parcarum fila tenebo Extendamque colus.'

Vix Aurora novos movebat ortus,
Jam velaria linea pluebant;
Nec rorem veniens profudit Eurus:
Quicquid nobile Ponticis nucetis,
Fecundis cadit aut jugis Idumes;
Quod ramis pia germinat Damascos,
Et quod percoquit aestuosa Caunos
Largis gratuitum cadet rapinis.

L. I. 6. 9—16.

In line 11 nec is a correction of Bährens: the MSS. give Nunc C, hunc a: I keep hunc and explain the passage as follows: At early dawn the awnings were pouring showers of presents: this shower, says the poet, has come from the East, and he goes on to specify various Eastern countries, Pontus, Idumaea, Damascus and Caunus. There is more difficulty in l. 10: it is I believe usually taken to mean 'already the awnings

were raining strings of pearl' and Martial's 'nec linea dives cessat' is quoted in support of this. But it seems preposterous to suppose that linea by itself can bear this meaning, and besides, any explanation as to the nature of this shower is in l. 10 premature in view of the full explanation in l. 12—16 introduced by quicquid. On the whole I am inclined to take linea as an adjective in agreement with velaria. The quantity is of course a difficulty, but Virgil has aestusque pluviasque and Statius may have allowed himself the same license. As to the meaning of linea, it is known that the awnings of theatres were as a rule made either of wool or linen. Pliny in discussing the various uses of linen says (Nat. Hist. XIX. 1—6) 'Inventum jam est etiam quod ignibus non absumeretur' and adds 'Ergo huic lino principatus in toto orbe.' Here then the linen awning may refer to the adoption of this linen or to some improvement of the sort introduced by Domitian.

> Tum tibi quas vestes, quae non gestamina mitis
> Festinabat erus? brevibus constringere laenis
> Pectora et angusta talari artare lacertos
> Enormes non ille sinens, sed semper ad annos
> Texta legens modo Puniceo velabat amictu etc.
>
> L. II. 1. 127—132.

Bährens has here made reckless changes, and the result is confusion worse confounded. The MSS. read angusta telas artare (A) lacerna Enormes non ille sinus Ca. This I keep, and with a full stop after lacerna should translate 'What clothes did not your fond master give you, even before the right time? He used to fasten the short cloaks across your chest and contract the web of the narrow mantle. He never gave you loose shapeless folds, but ever suiting the raiment to your years' etc. Nothing can be plainer than this. Melia was eager to give Glaucias the best of everything: even before the usual age he dressed him in laenae and lacernae, made small especially to suit him. Instead of buying clothes which Glaucias will grow into, everything is made to fit exactly, and this of course involves the constant purchase of new dresses.

ades huc emissus ab atro
Limine, cui soli cuncta impetrare facultas,
Glaucia (nam insontes animas nec portitor arcet
Nec durae comes ille ferae). L. II. 1. 227—230.

Nam is an insertion and is not found in the MSS. I should read Glaucia (si insontes animas...).

The change from this to Glaucias insontes would be very natural, and Glaucias would inevitably be altered to Glaucia to suit the sense.

Vive Midae gazis et Lydo ditior auro
Quem non ambigui fasces, non mobile vulgus,
Non leges, non castra tenent, qui pectore magno
Spemque metumque domas astu sublimior omni.
L. II. 2. 125.

Astu is a correction of Bährens, tuto is the reading of AC. I propose titulo which is supported by l. 145 of the same poem,

Ite per annos
Saeculaque et priscae titulos praecedite famae.

miserum est primaeva parenti
Pignora surgentesque (nefas!) accendere natos.
L. II. 6. 2. 3.

Accendere is a correction: acedere is the reading of A, accedere of C. But surely the expression 'to burn growing children' is singularly harsh even for Statius, and it is not even the reading of the MSS. I propose to read a! cedere.

rumpat frenos dolor iste deisque
Si tam dura placent, hominem exprobret (ei mihi! subdo
Ipse faces) hominem, Urse, tuum, cui dulce volenti
Servitium. L. II. 6. 12—16.

Exprobret is a correction of Bährens for gemis AC. I should read homo enim for hominem, and translate 'The gods may do as they please: you at least as a man bewail this man of yours.' Enim merely gives emphasis to homo, a usage not uncommon in Virgil.

nunc ipsum in limine cerno
Solventem voces et talia dicta ferentem.
L. III. 1. 164.

But ipsum is a correction: read ipse with AC, and put a colon after limine.

nunc ipse in limine: cerno
Solventem voces...

The improvement is obvious.

Nec minor his tu nosse fidem invictamque maritis
Dedere. L. III. 5. 50.

Invictamque is a correction of Bährens, victamque is the MS. reading. I propose vittamque maritis Dedere. The fillet was worn by brides and Vestal Virgins as a symbol of chastity. Cf. Prop. IV. 11. 33,

Mox ubi jam facibus cessit praetexta maritis,
Vinxit et adspersas altera vitta comas.

Further, the Vitta is the outward sign of marriage (Ovid Ep. III. 3. 51) and chastity (Tristia II. 247). Hence, when Statius says to his wife 'Nec minor his tu vittam dedere,' he means, you are inferior to none of these in chaste devotion to your husband.

Hae possent et Athon cavare dextrae
Et moestum pelagus gementis Helles
Intercludere ponte non natanti.
His parvus, nisi cliviae vetarent
Inous freta miscuisset Inos.
L. IV. 3. 56—62.

I fully agree with Prof. Ellis in rejecting 'the pedantic conjecture cliviae, a word of very dubious authority,' but I cannot accept as he does the emendation 'His laurus nisi Deliae vetarent.' The MS. reading is deviae. The passage is interesting for its reference to one of many attempts to cut through the isthmus of Corinth, an enterprise in which Julius Caesar, Caligula and Nero successively failed.

Pliny Nat. Hist. IV. 5 says 'Lecheae hinc, Cenchreae illinc, longo et ancipiti navium ambitu. Quam ob causam perfodere navigabili alveo angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, Dictator Caesar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, infausto (ut omnium patuit exitu) incepto.' The last words are of special importance for the explanation of this passage. It is quite clear that the Romans had begun to look with suspicion upon any attempt of the kind, and when 'after Nero's departure the design was promptly abandoned, the Romans regarded its frustration as a judgement perhaps on his unnatural pride.' We are indebted to Xiphilinus for an account of the omens which boded ill to the work. *αἷμά τε γὰρ τοῖς πρώτοις ἁψαμένοις τῆς γῆς ἀνέκλυσεν καὶ οἰμωγαὶ μυκηθμοί τέ τινες ἐξηκούοντο καὶ εἴδωλα πολλὰ ἐφαντάζετο.*

The sense then we should expect the passage to bear is this. 'These hands would have made a canal through the Isthmus, had not the project been ill-omened and discredited by the Gods.' And now as to the reading. I propose

> His parvus, nisi Di via vetarent,
> Inous freta miscuisset Isthmos.

The change is the slightest possible (Di via for deviae) and the sense of the whole passage pleads strongly for this reading. 'These hands could make a passage through Athos, and bridge over the Hellespont: Ino's Isthmus, an easy task for these, were it not that the gods forbad the way, would have mingled its two seas.' It is obvious that on this interpretation parvus is not a mere epithet, and is therefore not liable to Prof. Ellis' objection that 'nothing can be more unlike the manner of Statius than to combine two epithets with a single substantive.' Finally it is satisfactory to be able to illustrate the construction nisi Di via vetarent from Statius himself, Theb. XII. 558 'Quos vetat igne Creon.'

> Sed cum plaga recens et adhuc in vulnere primo
> Aegra domus, questu misero hautque accessus ad aurem
> Conjugis orbati.
>
> L. v. 17 18—20.

This is a conjecture of Bährens for miseramque accessus, the reading of Ca. I change que into qui and read

questu miseram qui accessus ad aurem
Conjugis orbati?

'What access can my complaint find to the sorrowing ear of the widower?'

Nec mirum: videt ille obitus ortusque, quid Auster,
Quid Boreas hibernus agat, ferrique togaeque
Consilia atque ipsam mentem probat. ille subactis
Molem immensam humeris et vix tractabile pondus
Imposuit. L. v. 1. 81—85.

Subactis is a correction of Avantius, and does not seem satisfactory: jubatis is the reading of Ca. I should read mentem probat ille sub actis, i.e. he judges not merely the act itself but the spirit which prompts it.

Praeterea, fidos dominus si dividat enses
Pandere, quis centum valeat frenare, maniplos
Admissus quis eques, quis praecepisse cohorti,
Quem deceat clari praestantior ordo tribuni.
L. v. 1. 94—97.

Frenare, maniplos admissus quis eques is a correction of Bährens: the MS. reading is frenare maniplos intermissus eques. I believe that a very slight change will restore the passage as Statius wrote it. I propose to read Sin permissus eques in place of intermissus eques and punctuate thus:

Praeterea, fidos dominus si dividat enses,
Pandere quis centum valeat frenare maniplos,
Sin permissus eques, quis praecepisse cohorti,
Quem deceat clari praestantior ordo tribuni.

Pandere like magnum late dimittere in orbem l. 86 depends on 'pondus imposuit' l. 85. The meaning of the passage is now clear: Abascantus is to determine who is to govern the hundred manipli, or who is to command the cavalry. The 'centum manipli' I believe to be the praetorian troops, and 'fidos enses' is in favour of this. The manipulus probably

varied in number from 200 to 140 men. Now if we take 160 as the number of men in one manipulus, centum manipli will give us 16,000 men, and this was the exact number of the praetorian guard under Vitellius.

> Nunc etiam labente manu, nec lumine sicco
> Ordior acclinis tumulo, quo molle quiescis
> Jugera nostra tenens, ubi post Aeneia fata
> Stellatam Latiis ingessit montibus Albam
> Ascanius. L. v. 3. 35—39.

Stellatam, the correction of Bährens for Stellatus Ca, we may reject at once, but Stella tuus, the emendation of Prof. Ellis, is most fascinating. He writes (Journ. Phil. vol. XIII. page 91) 'I have little doubt that Stellatus is a corruption of Stella, tuus, the poet taking occasion, as he so often does, to pay an incidental compliment to his noble friend Stella.'

My objection to this is, firstly that there is nothing in Statius to justify our supposing that Stella derived his pedigree from Ascanius, and secondly that this sudden address to Stella is strangely harsh in view of the fact that Statius only in the preceding line has addressed his father in the Vocative, and again addresses him in l. 41 'Hic ego te.' I venture to read spe laetus, which is commonplace enough by the side of Prof. Ellis' brilliant suggestion, but is not an unsuitable description of the high hopes with which Ascanius would set out to found a new colony.

HUGH MACNAGHTEN.

CAESAR'S INVASIONS OF BRITAIN.

It seems almost impertinent to inflict on the readers of this Journal one more attempt to throw some light on this much debated theme.

In a late number (34) of this Journal Mr H. E. Malden reviewed the subject in an interesting paper, in which he discussed the views of Dr Guest, Sir George Airy, Mr Lewin and Mr Vines.

To make my remarks as short as possible, I shall state briefly the points of the controversy.

A. Caesar sailed from the Portus Itius. Where was this?

(*a*) Dr Guest after Camden, as also Mr Long, placed this port at Wissant near Cape Gris-nez, and is followed by Mr Malden.

(*b*) Other antiquaries identified it with Boulogne (which had however a Gaulish name of its own, Gessoriacum). Mr Lewin is the only modern English writer who supports this.

(*c*) Sir George Airy (on the analogy of William the Conqueror's invasion) identifies Portus Itius with the mouth of the Somme.

B. Where did Caesar land?

(*a*) Dr Guest says at Deal, following Camden.

(*b*) Mr Lewin and Mr Malden say in Romney Marsh.

(*c*) Sir G. Airy says at Pevensey near Hastings (where William landed 11 centuries later).

C. Mr Malden has introduced a fresh element of doubt, as he maintains that Caesar started from two different points on

his two expeditions, as he does not name the Portus Itius in the account of his first expedition, but only refers to some place in the land of the Morini.

If we could settle any one of these debated points, something would be done for the simplification of the problem.

My main effort will be to show that Caesar started from the Portus Itius (wherever it was) on both occasions.

The data for the whole discussion are scanty; hence its endlessness. I shall state these briefly and then proceed to reason from them.

1. Let us hear first Caesar himself. On the first expedition: in Morinos proficiscitur quod inde erat *breuissimus* in Britanniam transiectus (IV. 21).

2. His constitutis rebus nactus idoneam ad nauigandum tempestatem tertia fere uigilia soluit equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naues conscendere et se sequi iussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis nauibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cuius loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset, hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naues eo conuenirent, ad horam nonam in ancoris expectauit.—his dimissis (sc. tribunis) et uentum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis ancoris circiter milia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naues constituit. (IV. 23.)

Of the second expedition he says:

3. Conlaudatis militibus atque eis qui negotio praefuerant, quid fieri uelit, ostendit atque omnes ad portum Itium conuenire iubet, quo ex portu *commodissimum* in Britanniam *transiectum* esse cognouerat circiter milium passuum XXX [transmissum] a continenti. (V. 2.)

4. Ad solis occasum soluit et leni Africo prouectus, media circiter nocte uento intermisso, cursum non tenuit et longius delatus aestu orta luce sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus aestus commutationem secutus remis con-

tendit ut eam partem insulae caperet qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognouerat.—accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus nauibus meridiano fere tempore. (v. 8.)

5. Strabo (B.C. 63—A.D. 21) says: *τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορίνων, παρ' οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον· νύκτωρ δ' ἀνήχθη καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τριακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας· κατέλαβε δ' ἐν ἀρούραις τὸν σῖτον.* (IV. 199.)

6. Dio Cassius (*flor.* 180 A.D.) says of the first expedition: *τὸν μὲν διάπλουν καθ' ὃ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ᾗ ἔδει πρόσεσχεν· οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθόμενοι τὰς κατάρσεις*[1] *ἁπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἠπείρου οὔσας προκατέλαβον, ἄκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν περιπλεύσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη· κἀνταῦθα τοὺς προσμίξαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας, πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

We are now in a position to deal with our first point. The latter portion of the extract from Strabo seems to have escaped completely the notice of scholars, although Dr Guest quoted the first part of it in reference to the Portus Itius. Strabo beyond doubt refers to Caesar's *first* expedition. To Caesar's *tertia fere uigilia* corresponds Strabo's *νύκτωρ*, and to the *hora circiter diei quarta* of the former the *περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν* of the latter. But Strabo declares that Caesar used *τὸ Ἴτιον* as his port, which puts it beyond doubt that Caesar started from the Portus Itius on his first as well as on his second expedition[2].

It is easy to understand why Caesar mentions the name of the port in the account of his second, but not in that of his first invasion.

On the first occasion he marches into the land of the Morini because he knew that from that district there was the *shortest*

[1] If Dio's authority were sufficient, we could argue that Caesar evidently did not land at any point opposite the point from which he sailed, but rather at some spot where the Channel was wider.

[2] Strabo is fully aware that Caesar made two expeditions, for he says (200) *δὶς δὲ διέβη Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὁ θεός κ.τ.λ.*

sea passage into Britain. But he had not fixed upon any particular spot until he went there himself to select whatever point on the coast would best serve as a rendezvous. On the second occasion, as he now knew the coast, and had found the Portus Itius the most suitable place, he orders his forces to collect there, and further, his language shows that he had found that there was a very convenient (*commodissimum*, not *breuissimum*) crossing of 30 miles (as it stands in the text).

Next, let us assail the grand *crux*, Where was the Portus Itius? Was it Wissant, Boulogne, Calais, Ambleteuse, Dunkerque, or the mouth of the Somme? It has been assumed by scholars that it was a capacious harbour, since it could hold 800 ships. Hence Sir G. Airy considers the mouth of the Somme the strongest claimant as being the only harbour on this coast of sufficient extent, and Dr Guest has argued vigorously to prove that the pool harbour behind the sandbanks of Wissant afforded the necessary space.

Now I venture to think that a proper understanding of the passage of Strabo quoted above would have saved much discussion. All scholars have assumed that τὸ Ἴτιον of Strabo simply represents the *portus* Itius of Caesar, in other words, they translate it as the Itian *harbour*. The word Ἴτιον is evidently an adjective (as is likewise Itius in Caesar). If we ask ourselves what class of geographical names of coast places are neuter adjectives joined with the article, we shall soon get some light. The noun to be understood is evidently neuter, hence it cannot be λιμήν, or κόλπος. Ἄκρον οι ἀκρωτήριον is evidently the word we want. When we open Ptolemy's account of this coast, and find the single headland mentioned by him is called Ἴτιον ἄκρον, we can have little doubt that τὸ Ἴτιον in Strabo represents the same *cape*. Analogies from the same region are ready to hand; τὸ Κάντιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἑῷον ἄκρον τῆς νήσου (Strabo, IV. 193), while Ptolemy calls it Κάντιον ἄκρον. Again, Diodorus Siculus (V. 22) speaks of τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον, which Ptolemy simply terms Βολέριον. Cape Finisterre in Spain is called Νέριον by Strabo, Νέριον ἄκρον by Ptolemy. Similarly Cape Finisterre in France is called Κάβαιον by Strabo.

If any one still doubts that such neuters are regularly the names of capes and headlands, let him read down a few pages of Ptolemy. The names of harbours and bays on the other hand are regularly masculine, e.g. *Μέγας λιμήν, καινὸς λιμήν, Λεμάνιος κόλπος* and so on[1]. But the objection may be raised, How could the Itian Headland be a harbour? My answer is ready. It was not a harbour in the full sense, as is clear from the language of Strabo, who does not term it a *λιμήν* but a *ναύσταθμον*, a *roadstead* merely.

A cursory examination of the latter term will show how clearly the Greeks distinguished it from the former. No headland could ever have been termed *λιμήν*, which means a natural harbour formed by a bay well sheltered by projecting forelands. This distinction, and also that a headland could be called a *ναύσταθμον*, is well shown by a familiar passage of Thucydides (III. 6) *ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως* (Mitylene) *καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο. —ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα.* Here we have Cape Malea as a *ναύσταθμον πλοίων*, contrasted with the real harbours (*λιμένες*) of Mitylene.

There is then no longer any difficulty in identifying *τὸ Ἰτιον* of Strabo with the *Ἴτιον ἄκρον* of Ptolemy. Can we but identify the latter with some modern headland, we have got a solid gain. There is but one prominent cape on this coast, that is *Grisnez*, which with Dover forms the actual Strait, which the Dutch therefore call De Hogden, *the Heights* (as Dr Guest points out). The only cape in this region mentioned by Ptolemy is *Ἴτιον*, which naturally represents the most important feature on the coast. A claim has been put in for *Alpreck* near Boulogne, which has been generally rejected. For the advocates of both Wissant and Boulogne support the claim of Grisnez.

We are thus led to conclude that Caesar used a point close to *Grisnez* as his harbour and thus termed it Portus Itius. The bay lying between that cape and the village of Wissant, now

[1] For instance all neuter coast names in his account of Ireland, England and Scotland are *capes* (with the exception of *Δοῦνον κόλπος*, where the reading *Δοῦνον* is doubtful, a Latin version giving *Dunus*).

blocked by sandbanks, but where there still existed a serviceable harbour until the 15th century, is a not unnatural place to regard as Caesar's *portus*, but since Dio (XL. 1) calls the place where Caesar landed in Britain a *ναύσταθμον*, any convenient beach then existing near Grisnez would suit just as well.

There now remains the last and most difficult question, Where did Caesar land?

His own words quoted above (contendit ut eam partem insulae caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognouerat) indicate that his *terminus ad quem* was the same on both occasions, whilst Dio Cassius (XL. 1) is explicit on this point, although he tells us nothing of the port of embarkment (*κατῆρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον*). As I am utterly ignorant of the localities round which the controversy has raged, I shall confine myself strictly to the literary evidence. I may remark that the local antiquary is too prone to regard earthworks of comparatively recent times as Roman or British camps, and local tradition is as worthless as the fabulous narratives of the Welsh bards. Three places, as we saw, satisfy the required conditions: (1) the beach near Deal or Walmer, about the required distance from the high cliffs near Dover with the little Stour about twelve miles inland; (2) the old shore somewhere in the interior of what is now Romney Marsh, about the required distance from the high cliffs near Folkestone; (3) the beach at Pevensey, about the required distance from Hastings or St Leonard's.

Knowing now with high probability the position of the Portus Itius, and Itian Promontory, and having two separate accounts of the distance traversed by Caesar on his first voyage, it may be worth testing by this criterion which of the three points best fits the *distance* given by the authorities, even though I am thoroughly aware of the difficulty experienced by the ancients in measuring with accuracy distances by sea. Some have proposed to expel as an interpolation the words circiter milium passuum XXX[1] a continenti, as this does not represent the actual distance across the Straits. But, as I

[1] Since this paper was written I find in Oberlin's ed. of Caesar (Lipsiae 1805) the note (on XXX) *al.* XL. My suggestion is no longer a conjecture, but I have not as yet found in what MS. the reading occurs.

have indicated already, Caesar is referring to that which he had found to be not the *shortest*, but the most *suitable transiectus* in his previous expedition. If this be so there is no need of excision. Let us look again at Strabo's statement, and once more it throws light on Caesar. His words are *κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τριακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας*. Strabo is plainly translating some definite number of Roman miles, for if he was simply giving round numbers he would have said 300 or 350, not 320 stades.

As we know from his own writings, Strabo counted 8 stades to the Roman mile[1]. Accordingly 320 stades= 40 Roman miles. There is thus a discrepancy between Caesar's *thirty* and Strabo's *forty* miles. The solution is not hard. Numerals when expressed by symbols are of all things most subject to corruption in MSS. If we therefore find two writers nearly contemporary differing in their account of a certain number, the one writing the number in full, but the other only as a symbol, we cannot hesitate to decide in favour of the former. The XXX of Caesar ought then to be XXXX. What more common mistake can there be than the omission of one X, especially as copyists anxious to make Caesar's account tally with the distance across the Straits would almost certainly strike out one X.

Let us now see which of the three points best fits *approximately* (for that is all that we ask) with the distance sailed by Caesar. Sir G. Airy raised two objections against the claims of Deal, which have never been answered. The first was that the tides would have been running westward instead of eastward at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the day of Caesar's first landing. As Caesar tells us that there was full moon on the third day after his arrival the tides can be calculated with accuracy. If he had sailed from Dover to Deal he would have had the tide against him instead of with him as he says he had. This argument is fatal to Deal. His other argument tells equally against Romney Marsh and Deal. He holds that it is incredible that Caesar's fastest ships should have taken at least

[1] Strabo VII. 322 *λογιζομένῳ δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοί, τὸ μίλιον ὀκταστάδιον τετρακισχίλιοι κ.τ.λ.*

nine hours to traverse the distance. Dover is 22 miles from Wissant, Folkestone not 24. Thus the fastest ships could not have made much more than two miles in an hour. Strabo evidently regards their speed as being at the rate of from four to five Roman miles an hour, as Caesar traversed 40 Roman miles in nine or ten hours. Mr Malden gives instances of the time occupied in crossing the Straits in modern times. In 1875 a six-oared boat rowed from Folkestone to Boulogne in five hours, and in 1885 an exceedingly ill-manned eight-oared boat rowed from Dover to Calais in four hours and a quarter. Caesar evidently had wind all the way on his first voyage, for if he had been becalmed he would have mentioned the fact as he does in his account of his second voyage. Neither Dover nor Folkestone is anything like 40 Roman miles from Wissant. Sir G. Airy's argument from the time taken is in harmony with Strabo's statement. We must thus cast aside the claims of Deal and Romney Marsh. Hastings (with the landing place at Pevensey) is alone left. As far as I can ascertain it is above 42 Roman miles from Cape Grisnez to Hastings. This distance would give a speed of from 4 to 4½ miles an hour for Caesar's leading ships, which is the speed assigned to them by Strabo. This point suits the conditions of distance and time extremely well.

I have thus shown (1) that Caesar started from the same point on both his expeditions; (2) that τὸ Ἴτιον of Strabo is almost certainly the Ἴτιον ἄκρον of Ptolemy, the Cape *Grisnez* of to-day; and (3) I have attempted to apply a confessedly rude criterion based upon Strabo's statement of the distance to aid us in discovering what spot along our shores saw the landing of "the hook-nosed fellow of Rome."

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

THE IAMBIC, A REPLY.

"On the mind of an adversary one never makes the faintest impression," said Matthew Arnold, when for once he condescended to controversy. Nor is it likely that Dr Fennell and I will ever make any impression on one another, for, if I may venture to say so, the only point in common between our rival hypotheses is their extreme speculativeness. I shall abstain therefore from criticizing a view which I am of all men least likely to appreciate, and content myself with defending my own position where Dr Fennell has attacked it.

(1) Dr Fennell quotes several lines of which he regards the scansion on my system as "intolerable". Why? Because the words coincide with the musical bars. But what is this which I see further down about the "Teutonic ear"? How can a Teuton tell off-hand what a Greek would consider intolerable? *οὐδὲν οἷον αὐτοὺς ἐρωτᾶν*; I interrogate the Greeks themselves. If words may not coincide with musical bars the following lines are "intolerable".

ἄνδρα μοι | ἔννεπε | μοῦσα || πολύτροπον | ὃς μάλα | πολλά.
αἱ δὲ | δῶρα | μὴ δέκετ' | ἀλλὰ | δώσει.
μελιχρὸν | αὐτὰρ | ἀμφὶ | κόρσᾳ.
λίθῳ | τε κοὐ | λίθῳ | βάλοι | τε κοὐ | βάλοι. (On Dr Fennell's system.)

And one might add that the *Carmina Popularia* are mere doggrel.

(2) "The concurrence of the end of a word with the end of the first foot, line after line consecutively, does not seem natural." This difficulty, if it were one, would be equally fatal to Dr Fennell's own view; see e.g. the opening *thirteen*

lines of the *Heraclidae*. But it is none at all; such a rhythm happens perpetually in hexameters and why not in other metres?

(3) "The middle foot and also the verse are cut into two equal portions" in such lines as

μή μ' ἄσαισι μήτ' | ὀνίαισι δάμνα.

The remark about *αἰόλῳ* completely mystifies me. Can Dr Fennell suppose that I took *αἰόλῳ* to mean *Aeolic*?

(4) I certainly said that the rule of the cretic was "dictated by the ear." But I meant the Greek ear, not the Teutonic, though I expressed myself very badly; I should have said *was* not *is* dictated. My own ear is so bad that I feel no objection to spondees in the fourth foot in many cases, let alone violation of the cretic. And if the Greek ear did not dictate the rule, did not object to the rhythm, how did the rule come to exist?

I have to thank Dr Fennell most sincerely for the kindly manner in which he has treated my heresies, and to apologize for my ignorance of his view. But it is small wonder that I should not have looked into a dissertation on the *Seven* for a theory of the iambic.

ARTHUR PLATT.

TRACES OF A SAYING OF THE DIDACHE.

The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* contains the unique saying on almsgiving *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς*. Fresh traces of this having been lately discovered, an opportunity arises of testing its interpretation. What I have taken to be its meaning will be set forth more fully below, and the result will be compared with parallels from other writings in which the precept is cited or paraphrased in Latin or Greek. These confirm the view that it does not contradict or limit the previous saying *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου* but goes beyond it. *Εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ παντὶ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι.*

1. *The Saying as it stands in the Didache.*

The *Teaching* begins by stating that there are Two Ways, one of Life and one of Death, and then proceeds to expound the former thus:

ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει· τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη.....ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι· ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΑΙΤΟΥΝΤΙ ϹΕ ΔΙΔΟΥ *καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων· μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην ἱνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε· καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται·* ΙΔΡΩΤΑΤΩ Η ΕΛΕΗΜΟϹΥΝΗ ϹΟΥ ΕΙϹ ΤΑϹ ΧΕΙΡΑϹ ΣΟΥ ΜΕΧΡΙϹ ΑΝ ΓΝΩϹ ΤΙΝΙ ΔΩϹ. *δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· οὐ φονεύσεις κ.τ.λ.*

παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου] Since to give on demand is not to give spontaneously, this precept does not inculcate the highest form of liberality. However little importunate the beggar may be, to give to one that asks does not imply a previous desire to give: still less any active effort to find out the persons to whom to give. A man may give *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι* and yet neglect those to whom it was his first duty to give.

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων] The reason assigned for the precept is that the Father wills that to all should be given *of His own gifts*. "Freely ye have received, freely give." The command to give merely of that which one already possesses does not rise to the level of Eph. iv. 28, "Let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι] The mischief of indiscriminate almsgiving is clearly indicated. *Woe to him that receiveth*. He who receives without being in want will be called to account and will have to pay the penalty to the uttermost farthing. In such case the giver will have done harm to the person to whom he gave.

μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν] He who gives according to the commandment to give indiscriminately is blessed, *ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν*. However much harm he may have done, the commandment is his justification. He has the happiness to be pronounced innocent and the receiver is held responsible. The results of giving according to this *ἐντολή* being thus dubious, and the precept requiring no spontaneous effort "to seek and to save" and no assiduous preparation for such occasions of giving as may arise, the *Teaching* supplies its defects by another precept *ἐρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* which we have now to consider.

ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ (*sic*) *εἴρηται*] We know nothing of the oral or written source of the saying thus introduced, but the formula of citation, taken by itself, is one which may be freely rendered, "*Scriptura dicit*," as we shall have occasion to notice in sect. 3 (p. 160). Compare in St Luke iv. 12 εἰρηται οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου. The question is not merely what does *εἴρηται* mean in the *Teaching* but what would

later writers make of it? The saying may have been adopted from the Jewish oral tradition.

ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου] *ἐλεημοσύνη* is used proleptically of alms-money or that which is to be given away as alms. I take *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου* to mean that, before a man can give, his alms-money must somehow come into his possession. First fill thy hand, then give. *Πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρῄζοντι παράσχου* (*Phocyl.*). Compare Psalm 129, 7, "whereof the mower filleth not his hand." In the previous saying the giver is supposed to be already in the enjoyment of the means to give. According to this he has first to earn or gather his "alms." He is to lay up in store that he may be able to give. On the relation of the saying to its immediate context see sect. 4.

No emendation of *ἱδρωτάτω*, for which St Augustine has *Sudet* (sect. 3), is wanted. Against the proposal to read *ἱδρωσάτω*, from the known form *ἱδρόω*, it is enough to say that the context requires not an aorist but a present imperative, whether to express the continuing process, *Let thine alms be sweating* (or *be for sweating*) *into thine hands until &c.*, whatever "sweating" may mean, or to correspond to the series of general precepts to which the saying belongs, from *καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει* to *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*. Reading then *ἱδρωτάτω*, from *ἱδρωτάω* (*ἅπαξ λεγ.*), we have further to consider whether it should be rendered, according to one view of its form, as a desiderative, "Let thine alms be for sweating into thine hands," the alms being supposed desirous of coming into the hands to be given away. Compare the desire of the clusters to be gathered in Papias *Fragm.* IV. (ed. Routh), "Et quum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic." But *ἱδρωτάω* (or *-ιάω*) would perhaps signify "am in a sweat" symptomatic of disease, or profuse and abnormal, so that "sweat" in the saying under discussion might mean *sweat freely*. Professor Mayor cites Kühner's *Greek Grammar* I. 698 for examples of words to the point: "das Suffix *ιάω* wird wie auch *άω* zur Bezeichnung von körperlichen und geistigen Krankheitszuständen gebraucht, als: *ὑδεριάω* u. *ὑδεράω*, habe die Wassersucht (*ὕδερος*), *σπληνιάω* = *τὸν σπλῆνα ἀλγῶ*, *λιθιάω*, leide an Steinschmerzen

...βραγχάω u. *-ιάω*, leide an Heiserkeit, u. s. w." Kühner refers to Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 79 sqq.

Sweat is most naturally taken to connote labour. It stands for field labour in Gen. iii. 19, and for literary labour in 2 Macc. ii. 26. In the Athanasian tract *De Virginitate* the spiritual athlete wins the kingdom of heaven by great toils and "noble sweatings" (Migne *P. G.* vol. 28, 273). It may also stand for the produce of labour, as "labour" itself does in Psalm 128, 2, "For thou shalt eat the labour (*κόπον* or *πόνους*) of thine hands." Compare in the *Ecclesiazusae* 750—2,

> *οὐ γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν ἱδρῶτα καὶ φειδωλίαν*
> *οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος οὕτως ἀνοήτως ἐκβαλῶ*
> *πρὶν ἂν ἐκπύθωμαι πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὅπως ἔχει.*

As a man eats his "labour" or *ἱδρώς*, so he should give alms of it, and for this purpose the savings of his toil should be accumulating by driblets—dropping as sweat into his hands. The two sources of supply referred to in this saying and the previous one are brought together in *Apost. Const.* v. 1, *ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόπου*, or *ἱδρῶτος*.

μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς] The whole saying refers to giving *proprio motu* and asking does not come into the field of view. Discrimination is a necessary feature of spontaneous giving, since one does not deliberately purpose to give except to fit persons. In respect of labouring to have to give and of giving unasked, this precept goes beyond *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*, and it does not in any way restrict the "imperatam largitatem".

It remains to test this interpretation by parallels from later writings.

2. *Traces of the Saying in Greek writings.*

a. Apost. Const. lib. vii. makes free use of the *Teaching*, and we can say exactly where traces of the saying *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* should be found in it. In chap. 2 we read :

τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος δανείσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ἀποκλείσῃς τὴν χεῖρα. δίκαιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἰκτείρει καὶ κιχρᾷ. πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν αὐτοῦ βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων· Τιμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ

σῶν δικαίων πόνων· προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους. Οὐ φονεύσεις κ.τ.λ.

ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων] Just before οὐ φονεύσεις is the place for μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς, and there we find the paraphrase προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους. Just before this we look for a trace of ἱδρωτάτω, and we find ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων. In *Apost. Const.* v. 1 we read καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος ὑμῶν πέμψατε αὐτῷ, a preference being again given, namely to the μάρτυς ἅγιος. Thus we find in *Apost. Const.* vii. 2 an equivalent of the command to give ἐξ ἰδίου ἱδρῶτος (p. 154), followed by προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους, in the very place where we should expect to find a trace of the saying ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς. If then the saying was still extant in Greek, as we know that it was in Latin, we need not doubt that the redactor had it in mind.

πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι κ.τ.λ.] He writes that it is δίκαιον to give to just and unjust, with reference doubtless to the curious saying of the *Teaching* that he who gives indiscriminately is ἀθῷος (p. 149). He properly contrasts the two precepts of *Did.* i. as regards the recipients, but by omitting ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων he confuses them as regards the source of supply, which is in one case χαρίσματα, according to the *Teaching*, and not "labours" in both cases alike. Hermas before him had mixed up these two precepts and a third from *Did.* iv. The text Prov. iii. 9 runs in the LXX., Τίμα τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων, καὶ ἀπάρχου αὐτῷ ἀπὸ σῶν καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης. It seems to be quoted in the sense of Prov. xix. 17, δανείζει θεῷ ὁ ἐλεῶν πτωχόν. The free rendering δικαίων πόνων served the purpose of the redactor.

b. In the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*, another work based on the *Teaching*, we read:

Θωμᾶς εἶπε, Τέκνον μου, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. τιμήσεις αὐτὸν καθ' ὃ δυνατὸς εἶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱδρῶτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξίωσέ σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν.

Here again we seem to have a trace of ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. It may be objected that the supposed allusion is misplaced, since

the tract closely follows the order of the *Teaching*, and the saying of St Thomas is based on the beginning of chap. iv. But when he is made to bring in *πνευματικὴν τροφὴν κ.τ.λ.* from chap. x, there was no reason why he should not also borrow a saying of chap. i. which served his purpose, and which was too remarkable to be omitted altogether.

c. In the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVIII. 297—325 (1890), it is shewn that Hermas in the *Shepherd* makes much use of the *Teaching*, not indeed quoting it directly but alluding to and working up its sayings. In *Mand.* 2 he mixes up the *Διδαχή* precepts on almsgiving, interpolates *ὑστερουμένοις* to correspond to *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς* in a place where it is not wanted, and expands *τίνι δῷς* into *τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς...τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ*. Corresponding to *ἱδρωτάτω* he has *κόπων*, but with a confusion of the two sources of supply, possessions or *χαρίσματα* and earnings (p. 151), thus, *Ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς· πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων.* In *Vis.* 3 he seems to be alluding again to the same saying *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου κ.τ.λ.* and spiritualising it, when he writes *διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στάξαντος τὴν δικαιοσύνην.* That this is quite after his manner appears from a careful study of the *Shepherd* in its entirety. *Στάζειν* is a synonym for the act of sweating, and *ἔλεος* and *δικαιοσύνην* would be suggested by *ἐλεημοσύνη*. The allusion, if it be an allusion, favours the interpretation of *εἰς τὰς χεῖρας* given in sect. 1 (p. 150). Cf. Ignat. *Antiochene Acts*, *ἀποσταζόντων χάριν* (iv), *σταζόμενον ὑφ' ἱδρῶτος κ.τ.λ.* (vii.).

d. The *Sibylline Oracles* (ii. 77 sqq.), as quoted by Prof. J. R. Harris in his edition of the *Teaching* (Baltimore, 1887), embody its sayings on almsgiving in chap. i., as well as *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι* from chap. iv., thus:

πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου μήτ' ἄῤῥιον ἐλθέμεν εἴπῃς·
ἱδρῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρῄζοντι παράσχου·
ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.
* * *
πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεξον·
ὧν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρῄζουσι παράσχου.

The verbal correspondence with *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου* is very marked, *χρῄζοντι* serves as an interpretation of *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς*, and the *ἐξ ἰδίων χαρισμάτων* of the previous saying of the *Teaching* is rendered by *ὧν τοι ἔδωκε θεός*. Compare in Hermas *Mand.* 2, *ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι*. "Sweatings *of sheaves*" may be assumed to be a true paraphrase, the reference in *ἱδρωτάτω* being perhaps primarily to the field labour of Gen. iii. 19.

e. In the same edition of the *Teaching* (p. 69) see the parallel from *Q.* 87 of the Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (Migne *P. G.* vol. 28, 651):

Καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου, ἐξ ἰλίου ἱδρῶτος [*Apost. Const.* vii. 2, *ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων*] *ποιοῦντος συμπάθειαν, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δώρων καὶ προσόδων παρέχοντος.*

Here again the two sources of supply, *ἱδρώς* and *χαρίσματα*, are clearly distinguished, and the *Teaching* itself seems to be referred to.

f. Mr J. M. Cotterill has found a curious and convincing trace of the saying in another of the tracts attributed to St Athanasius, *Dicta et interpr. Parabol. Evangelii* (Migne *P. G.* vol. 28, 766):

κειμ. ριθ'. Τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν δεῖ πρῶτον τὸν καρπὸν (*sic*) *μεταλαμβάνειν.*

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ γεωργός, ὅταν εἰσοδιάσῃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ, πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος θησαυρίζει ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὕτω παρέχει εἴτε ἐλεημοσύνην εἴτε τοῖς χρεώσταις αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ ἄλλως. Πᾶς ὁ θέλων κοπιᾷν εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ διδάσκειν καὶ ὠφελεῖν ἄλλοις, ἁρμόζει πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον τὸν διδάσκαλον ἵνα ἐργάζηται τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ λάβῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ τὰ χαρίσματα, καὶ κτήσασθαι τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῆς γνώσεως τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ τότε δυνήσεται καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδοῦναι τῶν δωρεῶν. καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ θέλων ἀλεῖψαι τινὰ ἔλαιον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἔχει, πῶς ἄλλοις μεταδίδωσι ὅπερ αὐτὸς οὐ κέκτηται; τοιουτοτρόπως μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου, καθὼς εἴρηται.

Here the text itself (2 Tim. ii. 6) springs out of Gen. iii. 19, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; and it is added that the same toil by which the man earns his living supplies

him with the means to give alms. There could be no simpler account of the genesis of the saying *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου.*

In the spiritual field likewise, it is said, a man must first acquire by labour what he would bestow in charity: if he would teach, he must first learn: if he would confer any fruit of the Spirit, he must first have reaped it for himself.

παρὰ Θεοῦ τὰ χαρίσματα] *Did.* i. (p. 148), *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.* The contrast of *ἱδρώς* and *χαρίσματα* (p. 154) notwithstanding, there is a point of view (1 Cor. iv. 7) from which all possessions are *χαρίσματα.*

ἀλεῖψαι τινὰ ἔλαιον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ] *Did.* i., *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. Did.* iv., *ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου κ.τ.λ.* Not to mention that *ἔλαιον* is sometimes confused with *ἔλεος* in manuscripts, it is a recognized symbol for good works. See Suicer *s. v.* Antiochus *Hom.* 21, *ἔλαιον εὐποιίας.* "Sweat" again would have suggested the illustration from anointing, while *ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν κ.τ.λ.* is as plain a paraphrase as could be desired of *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου* in the sense given above in sect. 1 (p. 150).

The writer ends with *εἴρηται*, which also precedes *ἱδρωτάτω* in the *Teaching.*

g. Bryennius, in illustration of the *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι* which precedes *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε* in the *Teaching* (p. 148), quoted the following passage from St John Climacus (Migne *P. G.* vol. 88, 1029):

εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ παντὶ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι. *Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν.*

Here we have a clear contrast with the *μὴ ἀπαίτει οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι* of the *Teaching*, and a reference to its next saying *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου.* There remains in *Did.* i. *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* and in the above extract *εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι.* If then we find St Augustine and other writers cited below in sect. 3 connecting the saying *Sudet eleemosyna* &c. with the duty of giving *τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι*, we may conclude that St John Climacus is referring to the same saying

in its Greek form, and that he sets it above the command to give *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι.*

h. Clement of Alexandria, as Bryennius pointed out, quotes a saying of the *Teaching* in *Strom.* I. 20, thus, *οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν, Τίέ, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπήν.* In *Quis dives salvetur?* he speaks of the "Vine of David," which is characteristic of the *Teaching,* and there are other indications that he is referring to the manual in caps. 28—32. Thus when he writes, *τὸ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· οὐκοῦν τὸν θεὸν* ὑπὲρ ϲεαγτόν, he may be alluding to *Did.* ii., *οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.* In caps. 31—2 he writes:

καὶ πάλιν· ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον ἢ προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου ἢ προφήτου τὸν ἐκείνων μισθὸν λήψεται...καὶ αὖθις· ποιήσατε ὑμῖν φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας κ.τ.λ....ὅρα πρῶτον μέν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖσθαί σε κεκέλευκεν, οὐδὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ζητεῖν τοὺς εὖ πεισομένους, ἀξίους τε ὄντας τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητάς. καλὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγος· ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός, χαίροντα τῷ διδόναι, καὶ μὴ φειδόμενον, ὡς σπείροντα, ἵνα οὕτω καὶ θερίσῃ, δίχα γογγυσμοῦ καὶ διακρίσεως καὶ λύπης, καὶ κοινωνοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εὐεργεσία ἀγαθή. κρείττων δ' ἐστὶ τούτου ὁ τῷ Κυρίῳ λελεγμένος ἐν ἄλλῳ χωρίῳ· παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου. Θεοῦ γὰρ ὄντως ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοδωρία. οὑτοσὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἅπασάν ἐστι θεότητα, μηδ' ἀπαιτεῖσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸϲ αναζητεῖν ὅϲτιϲ ἄξιοϲ εϒ παθεῖν.

ἔπειτα τηλικοῦτον μισθὸν ὁρίσαι τῆς κοινωνίας, αἰώνιον σκηνήν. ὦ καλῆς ἐμπορίας, ὦ θείας ἀγορᾶς. ὠνεῖται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ δοὺς τὰ διολλύμενα τοῦ κόσμου, μονὴν τούτων αἰώνιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνει. πλεῦσον ἐπὶ ταύτην, ἂν σωφρονῇς, τὴν παγήγυριν, ὦ πλούσιε. κἂν δέῃ, περίελθε γῆν ὅλην. μὴ φείσῃ κινδύνων καὶ πόνων...ἱκέτευσον ἵνα λάβῃ· σπεῦσον, ἀγωνίαϲον· *φοβήθητι μή σε ἀτιμάσῃ· οὐ γὰρ κεκέλευσται λαβεῖν, ἀλλά σε παρασχεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· δὸς ἢ παράσχες, ἢ εὐεργέτησον, ἢ βοήθησον· φίλον δὲ ποίησαι. ὁ δὲ φίλος οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς δόσεως κ.τ.λ.*

With this compare the sayings on almsgiving in *Did.* i. and *Did.* iv., noting in *Did.* iv. the expressions, *μὴ πρὸς τὸ*

δοῦναι συσπῶν...οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις, which must have suggested Clement's *διδόναι κ.τ.λ. δίχα γογγυσμοῦ...ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ κ.τ.λ....συγκοινωνήσεις...εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε κ.τ.λ.* By *τῷ Κυρίῳ λελεγμένος* Clement may refer to the title *Διδαχὴ Κυρίου*. His *ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀναζητεῖν ὅστις ἄξιος εὖ παθεῖν* corresponds to *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς* in *Did.* i., and *ἱδρωτάτω* may well have suggested his word *ἀγωνίασον*. Compare in St Luke xxii. 44, *καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ...ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ*. The rich man does not need to toil that he may acquire the means to give, but he is to use strenuous effort, "noble sweatings" (p. 151), to find worthy recipients and prevail upon them to receive.

ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.] This text (Matt. x. 41) is quoted by St Bernard in immediate connexion with *Desudet eleemosynas* &c., thus, "Quo fructu? quoniam *qui recipit justum* &c." (sect. 3), and by St Augustine on Psalm ciii. 14 (p. 158) in connexion with his form of the saying, *Sudet eleemosyna* &c. The like use made of it by Clem. Alex. favours the hypothesis that he is referring to the same saying in Greek, *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.*

ποιήσατε ὑμῖν φίλους κ.τ.λ.] This text (Luke xvi. 9) is quoted by St Augustine in the same place and on Psalm cxlvi. 8 (p. 159) in connexion with *Sudet eleemosyna &c.*

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀναζητεῖν κ.τ.λ.] The conjecture that the writer had the saying *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* in mind here is confirmed by St Augustine's writing (p. 159), "sic de illo quem tu debes quaerere dictum est, *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua* &c.," and "sed alius est quem tu debes quaerere, *Sudet* &c."

ὠνεῖται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν...μονὴν αἰώνιον κ.τ.λ.] Augustine (p. 158), "Vide...de re vili quid emas. *Ut recipiant vos,* inquit, *in tabernacula aeterna.*"

σπεῦσον κ.τ.λ.] Augustine (p. 158), "Quis non festinet? Quis non alacrius &c."

μή σε ἀτιμάσῃ] Augustine (p. 159),..." et aliquando damnaturum," and "ne...vos arguant."

3. *Traces of the Saying in Latin.*

a. In the *Classical Review* for October 1888 (vol. ii. 262) the following lines were cited from *Piers Plowman* (B. vii. 73):

Catoun kenneth men thus, and the clerke of the stories.
Cui des videto, is Catounes techynge:

And in the stories he techeth to bestowe thyn almes;
Sit elemosina tua in manu tua, donec studes cui des.
Ac Gregori was a gode man, and bad vs gyuen alle
That asketh, for his love that vs alle leneth.

Cui des videto] Compare the alternative reading in St Bernard *donec videas justum cui des.*

Sit elemosina tua &c.] This was said to point to the saying ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. as then or previously extant in the form, *Sudet elemosina tua &c.* This conjecture has now been confirmed by the discovery in Petrus Comestor, who is "the clerke of the stories," of the saying, *Desudet eleemosyna &c.* See Resch's Ἄγραφα, p. 465 (1889). It is found also in a passage of Cassiodorus discovered by Prof. Loofs of Halle (Ἄγραφα, p. 288). I had myself already learned from Dr Westcott that it was extant in an Epistle of St Bernard. St Augustine has it in the form *Sudet &c.*, in a passage communicated by an English correspondent to Prof. F. Brown of New York, and published in the *New York Independent* of the 12th December 1889, and also in a previous passage. The above mentioned passages of Augustine, Cassiodorus, Bernard and Petrus Comestor are set forth below.

b. St Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* writes on (1) Psalm ciii. 14 (Migne *P. L.* vol. 37, 1366—67):

Ergo praedicatores verbi et jumenta et servi sunt. Producit terra, si irrigata est, *fenum jumentis, et herbam servituti hominum.* Ipse est enim fructus, ut possit fieri quod dictum est in Evangelio: *Ut et ipsi recipiant vos in tabernacula aeterna* (*Luc.* xvi. 9). Vide de feno quid facias, vide de re vili quid emas. *Ut recipiant vos,* inquit, *in tabernacula aeterna*: ubi erunt ipsi, illuc vos recipiant. Quare hoc? Quia *qui suscipit justum in nomine justi, mercedem justi accipiet: et qui dederit &c. non perdet mercedem suam* (*Matth.* x. 41—42). Quam mercedem non perdet? Recipient vos in tabernacula aeterna. Quis non festinet? qui[s] non alacrius currat?...Quaere tamen, ne quis indigeat; et noli dicere: Si petierit, dabo. Exspectas ergo ut petat? Sic pascis bovem Dei, quomodo transeuntem mendicum? Illi petenti das, quia scriptum est, *Omni petenti te da* (*Luc.* vi. 30). De isto quid scriptum est? *Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem* (*Psal.* xl. 2). Quaere cui des: *Beatus*

enim *qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem*, qui praecoccupat vocem petituri...Alius ad te venit, ut petat; alium tu praeveni, ne petat. Sicut enim de illo qui te quaerit dictum est, *omni petenti te da;* sic de illo quem tu debes quaerere dictum est, *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias justum cui eam tradas*...Nemo vobis dicat: Praeceptum est a Christo ut servo Dei detur, mendico non detur. Absit; prorsus impius ista loquitur. Da illi, sed multo magis illi. Ille enim petit, et in voce petentis *agnoscis cui des:* ille autem quanto minus petit, tanto magis tibi vigilandum est ut praecoccupes petiturum; aut forte modo non petiturum, et aliquando damnaturum.

(2) Psalm cxlvi. 8 (Migne *P. L.* vol. 37, 1910—11):

Itaque fratres...efficite ut vos ipsos exigatis, efficimini exactores vestri. Christus tacitus exigit; et major est vox tacentis, quia in Evangelio non tacet. Non enim vere tacet, cum dicit: *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut et ipsi recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula* (*Luc.* xvi. 9). Non tacet ipse; audite vocem ejus. Nemo enim vos potest exigere; nisi forte exactione opus est, ut qui vobis in Evangelio serviunt petant a vobis. Si ad hoc ventum fuerit, ut petant; videte ne quod vos a Deo petitis frustra petatis. Ergo estote exactores vestri, ne aliquid illi qui vobis in Evangelio serviunt, non dico petere cogantur, nam forte nec coacti petunt; sed ne silentio vos arguant. Unde scriptum est: *Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem* (*Psal.* xl. 2). Cum dicit, *Qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem*, non expectat ut petat. Intellige super illum. Alius te quaerit indigens, alium tu debes quaerere indigentem. Utrumque dictum est, fratres mei: et *Omni petenti te da* (*Luc.* vi. 30) modo lectum est; et alio loco SCRIPTURA DICIT: *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua, quousque invenias justum cui eam tradas.* Alius est qui te quaerit; alium tu debes quaerere. Nec eum qui te quaerit relinquas inanem; *Omni enim petenti te da*: sed alius est quem tu debes quaerere; *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua, quousque invenias justum cui des.* Nunquam hoc facietis, nisi aliquid de rebus vestris sepositum habueritis, quod cuique placet pro necessitate rei familiaris suae, tanquam debitum quasi fisco reddendum.

Like Clem. Alex. (p. 157) he quotes St Matt. x. 41, ...*qui suscipit* [*recipit*] *justum &c.*, and St Luke xvi. 9, *Facite vobis*

amicos &c. The interpolation of *justum* before "cui des" may have been suggested by the former text, which is quoted likewise by St Bernard. Cassiodorus makes the like use with St Augustine of the text *Beatus qui intelligit &c.*

Scriptura dicit] It is remarkable that *Sudet eleemosyna &c.* should be cited as from Scripture. Does this mean that the Διδαχή was called Scripture by St Augustine, as Clem. Alex. seems to have called it γραφή (p. 156)? or is it "a mere slip," like Robert Hall's in making a sermon from, "*In the midst of life we are in death,*" as Prof. Brown's correspondent (p. 158) suggests? Possibly "Scriptura dicit" springs out of the εἴρηται of the *Teaching* itself, which might be so rendered (p. 149), and the meaning may be [lectum est] "Scriptura dicit, Sudet &c.," the εἴρηται being included in the citation along with the saying which it introduces in the *Teaching.* St Bernard's "Ideo *ait,* Desudet" looks like a reproduction of εἴρηται Ἱδρωτάτω. Other writers introduce "Desudet &c." with *Scriptum est etiam* and *De hac dictum est* respectively, and St Augustine writes on Psalm ciii., "dictum est, *Sudet &c.*" But, slip or no slip, the saying *Sudet &c.* is coordinated with the Gospel saying *Facite vobis amicos &c.* and set above *Omni petenti te da.*

Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua] The rendering *in manu tua* does not properly represent εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, but, as it stands, what does *Sudet in manu &c.* mean? The alms personified, after the analogy of the Papias fragment quoted on p. 150, might be said to "*work* in the hand," to be in unrest or in a sweat until given away, *sudare* being used, as it may be, in connexion with a purpose or desire. This would agree with the somewhat doubtful desiderative rendering of ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. so far as to make the alms desirous of being given away, while failing to enjoin "labour" to acquire the means to give.

Nunquam hoc facietis &c.] This expresses what I took to be an essential part of the meaning of ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ., that a man should lay up in store that he may be able to give.

(*To be continued.*)

C. TAYLOR.

TRACES OF A SAYING OF THE DIDACHE

(continued).

On a comparison of the saying of the *Didache* ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς with its Latin versions, we observe

(i) That Augustine (p. 159), Cassiodorus (p. 162), Bernard (p. 163), and Petrus Comestor (p. 164) read "Sudet (*or* Desudet) eleemosyna *in manu tua*," instead of ...*tua in manus tuas*, while *Piers Plowman* rightly inserts *tua* after "elemosina" (p. 158).

(ii) That Augustine renders τίνι δῷς twice by "justum cui eam tradas," and the third time by "justum cui des." Cassiodorus has the former reading: Bernard the latter. On the reading in Petrus Comestor see p. 165. *Piers Plowman* has the correct rendering "cui des," without *justum* or *eam*, which Augustine also preserves, in his "et in voce petentis *agnoscis cui des*" (p. 159), a casual reminiscence of γνῷς τίνι δῷς in connexion with παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε κ.τ.λ. These variations make it the harder to determine exactly what is meant by the Latin versions.

Sudet] The word itself as interpreted on p. 160 is illustrated by Persius III. 47,

> Quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis,

where sweating is a symptom of mental anxiety; and its sense by uses of *aestuo* as in Claud. *de Rapt. Pros.* II. 137,

> Aestuat ante alias avido fervore legendi.

Or it may have the sense illustrated by Persius v. 149, 150,

> Quid petis? Ut nummi, quos hic quincunce modesto
> Nutrieras, pergant avidos sudare deunces?

A capital sum which "sweats" *deunces* is one which produces or labours to produce interest at that rate.

eleemosyna] This may signify either the dole to be held in hand (p. 158) or bestowed at any time, with which the rendering "cui *eam* tradas" identifies it; or (especially without *tua*) the spirit of ἐλεημοσύνη*, which should be working until thou know "cui des," to whom to give its produce. The latter sense is most favoured by Augustine's second rendering. But by adding "Nunquam hoc facietis &c." he seems to decide against it, and to take "eleemosyna" of substance already "in manu," the production of which is implied but not expressed by *Sudet &c.*: if it is to sweat "in manu tua" it must have been already "de rebus vestris sepositum." Petrus Comestor may have understood the saying differently.

c. Cassiodorus in his Exposition of the Psalter writes on Psalm xl. 2 (Migne *P. L.* vol. 70, 295—6):

Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem: in die mala liberabit eum Dominus... Dicit enim quomodo peccata per operationes eleemosynarum saluberrimas expientur, ut possit beatitudo gloriosissima reperiri... Sed licet multi Patres de hac re plura conscripserint, oritur tamen inter eos de hoc articulo nonnulla dissensio. Legitur enim: *Omni petenti te tribue* (*Luc.* vi. 30). *Scriptum est etiam: Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias justum cui eam tradas.* Sed si omnes justos quaerimus, imperatam constringimus largitatem. Verum haec causa in sola pia voluntate consistit: quia non est nostrum prius mores discutere, et sic indigentiae subvenire. Sufficit nobis ut nos dare aliquid malis artibus nesciamus, nec opiniones hominum captando elati eleemosynam largiamur: sed operemur solo affectu subveniendi, quod nos super omnia praecipit Divinitas intueri. Qui sic dederit, etsi justis non det, juste tamen omnibus

* Ἐλεημοσύνη is personified (p. 160) in a homily of St Chrysostom on Almsgiving and the Ten Virgins (Migne *P. G.* vol. 49, 293—6) as Queen of the virtues, best Συνήγορος, Sister of virginity.

erogabit. Sed major opera danda est ut sanctis viris in aliqua indigentia subvenire debeamus propter Christum Dominum nostrum, qui de pauperibus suis in judicio proprio dicturus est: *Qui fecit uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecit* (*Matth.* xxv. 40). Sed adverte quod dicit, *intelligit*; ut etiam non petentibus talibus offeratur. Nam qui petenti tribuit, bonum opus efficit; qui vero tacentem intelligit, beatitudinem sine aliqua dubitatione conquirit.

Desudet] A stronger word than *Sudet*, and perhaps therefore to be preferred as a rendering of *ἱδρωτάτω*. It is also a medical word (Cels. VI. 6, 29)*. In other particulars Cassiodorus follows Augustine. He writes *Scriptum est* for Augustine's *Scriptura dicit* (p. 159). Compare Clement's *ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς* (p. 156).

juste tamen omnibus &c.] This agrees with *πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι κ.τ.λ.* in *Apost. Const.* and *ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν* in the *Didache* (p. 152); and *Sed major opera &c.* with *προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους* in *Apost. Const.* "Sed si omnes justos &c." emphasises the interpolated *justum*. The original *τίνι δῷς*, like Eph. iv. 28, is less restrictive.

d. St Bernard in *Epist.* xcv. writes Ad Turstinum Archiepiscopum Eboracensem (Migne *P. L.* vol. 182, 228):

Aliud est reficere ventrem esurientis, et aliud sanctam zelare paupertatem. Ibi enim servitur naturae, hic gratiae. *Visitabis*, inquit, *speciem tuam, et non peccabis* (*Job* v. 24). Ergo qui alienam carnem fovet, facit ne peccet: qui autem alienam sanctitatem honorat, fructificat sibi. *Ideo ait: Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias* (al. *videas*) *justum cui des.* Quo fructu? quoniam *qui recipit justum in nomine justi, mercedem justi accipiet* (*Matth.* x. 41). Solvamus proinde naturae debitum, ne peccemus: simus gratiae coadjutores, ut et participes fieri mereamur.

ne peccet] This and "ne peccemus," while referring to Job v. 24, correspond to *ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν*, said of him who gives *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι*, whether in want or not (p. 149). But Bernard goes further and says that he who gives even to the hungry, *qua* hungry, does it only "ne peccet." There is no

* Forms like Wasser*sucht* illustrate the connexion between the different senses of *-άω* verbs (p. 150).

positive merit (he teaches) in that, but there is in giving to the just *qua* just, according to *Desudet &c.* and Matth. x. 41. Thus he sets *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* far above *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.*

Ideo ait] Compare *εἴρηται ἱδρωτάτω* in the *Didache.*

e. Petrus Comestor writes in his *Historia Scholastica, Liber Deuteronomii* (Migne *P. L.* vol. 198, 1251—2):

Cap. V., *De decima secunda.*

Unde verior est haec traditio Hebraeorum; Singulis annis Hebraei faciunt duas decimationes bonorum suorum. Primam separabant Levitis: *de hac dictum est: Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec invenias justum cui des,* id est illum cui debes. Iterum novem reliquas partes decimabant, et hanc secundam decimam sibi reservabant, et ex ea ter in anno, cum ascendebant in Jerusalem, oblationes et epulas sibi et domui suae faciebant. ...Praeterea tertio anno, duabus decimis sublatis, ut diximus, tertiam faciebant iterum decimationem in usus pauperum, et hanc reponebant apud se, ut haberent unde darent peregrino, et advenae, pupillo et viduae egentibus, et etiam Levitis, si indigerent. In usus vero proprios ex hac nihil expendebant, et de hac dictum est: *Omni petenti tribue* (*Luc.* vi. 30).

de hac dictum est &c.] *περὶ τούτου εἴρηται ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* This writer again, in his own way, sets *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* distinctly above *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.*, the one being made to constitute a first charge on a man's revenue and the other a third charge only. With his reference of *Desudet eleemosyna &c.* to alms destined for religious uses compare Augustine's "Sic pascis bovem Dei &c." (p. 158), and "ut qui vobis in Evangelio serviunt &c." (p. 159); and in *Apost. Const.* VII. 2 *Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων κ.τ.λ.* (p. 151). The primary reference in *ἱδρωτάτω* and in *Apost. Const.* (*ἥλιον... ὑετὸν κ.τ.λ.*) would be to field labour, and to this *Desudet* also may possibly refer in the peculiar context in which Petrus Comestor places it.

justum cui des] By "id est illum cui debes" he seems to be interpreting *justum,* not connecting it, like Augustine and others, with Matth. x. 41. Resch (*Agrapha,* p. 465) cites Comestor's version of the saying from a Strassburg edition of 1483 A.D. in the form:

Desudet elemosina in manu tua donec invenias cui des.

This looks like the original of *Piers Plowman's* "cui des" (p. 158). But if Langland cited his "clerke of the stories" accurately in this particular, we can only infer that there was a text of Comestor's work which omitted *justum*. Against the presumption that it was rightly omitted we must then set the internal evidence (if such there be) in favour of "*justum* cui des."

4. *The Saying in relation to its context.*

a. If the saying *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* inculcates the duty of labouring not only to support oneself (Gen. iii. 19) but to fill one's hands so as to be able to give alms, it agrees with Eph. iv. 28, which may even have been based upon it; for the saying as a saying, or in some earlier writing from which the *Teaching* quotes it, may well be older than the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Consider now its immediate context in the *Teaching*. It had been said, Give indiscriminately *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε*, and let the receiver take the responsibility. If he was in want and could not help himself, well and good. Otherwise he shall be called to account, put in prison, and not let out *ἕως οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην*. Figuratively (that is to say) he is styled a thief. Then comes *ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται, ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* If the meaning be that the saying *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* applies to the case or person last mentioned, and that this "thief," as he is considered to be, ought rather to have earned enough to be able to give instead of receiving, the parallelism with Eph. iv. 28 is complete: "Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." So the *Teaching* seems to have been understood in *Apost. Const.* iv. 3:

Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν διδόντα, ἢπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα· καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων βουλομένοις· ἑκάτερος γὰρ ἀποδώσει λόγον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ

δι' ἡλικίαν ὀρφανίας, ἢ γήρως ἀτονίαν, ἢ νόσου πρόσπτωσιν, ἢ τέκνων πολυτροφίαν λαμβάνων· ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ μόνον οὐ μεμφθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινεθήσεται· θυσιαστήριον γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ λελογισμένος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ἀόκνως ὑπὲρ τῶν διδόντων αὐτῷ προσευχόμενος. οὐκ ἀργῶς λαμβάνων, ἀλλὰ τῆς δόσεως αὐτοῦ, ὅση δύναμις, τὸν μισθὸν διδοὺς διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς. ὁ τοιοῦτος οὖν ἐν τῇ αἰωνίῳ ζωῇ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μακαρισθήσεται· ὁ δὲ ἔχων, καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνων, ἢ δι' ἀργίαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐργαζόμενον βοηθεῖν καὶ ἑτέροις, δίκην ὀφλήσει τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι πενήτων ἥρπασε ψωμόν.

εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] The compiler, referring distinctly though not exclusively to the *Διδαχὴ Κυρίου*, where it is said, *μακάριος ὁ διδούς* and *οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι κ.τ.λ.*, writes that he who receives alms under pressure of necessity is not only *ἀθῷος* but "blessed": he does not receive idly, but does his best to pay for what he has received by diligent prayer for the giver—here Hermas *Sim.* ii. is referred to. But he who receives *ἐν ὑποκρίσει* (Herm. *Mand.* ii.), or through laziness, when he might have worked to help others also, will incur Divine judgment as having robbed the poor. Thus it is said plainly of the able-bodied beggar, *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* Henceforth, instead of receiving dishonestly, let him *sweat* [*ἐργαζόμενον*] and give *alms* [*βοηθεῖν καὶ ἑτέροις*]*.

In Herm. *Mand.* ii. 5, *οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην*, the persons condemned for receiving are *prima facie* those who have but pretend not to have. *Apost. Const.* iv. 3 adds *ἢ δι' ἀργίαν κ.τ.λ.*, with reference to those who were indeed empty handed but might have earned enough to support themselves, and more, alluding probably to Eph. iv. 28 and at the same time to *Did.* i., on which Herm. *Mand.* ii. is founded. The words *ὅτι πενήτων ἥρπασε ψωμόν* describe the culprit in *Did.* i., who is imprisoned for receiving *μὴ χρείαν ἔχων*.

* In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, notice in xxi. 2 *ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε*, in xix. 11 the disputed reading *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*, and in x. 4 *οἵτινες οὐκ οἴδασιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἱδρῶτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἁρπάζουσιν τὰ ἀλλότρια*. There was a Jewish saying, that he who does not teach his son a craft teaches him theft. Cf. *πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζώει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν* (*Phocyl.*).

Writers on the *Teaching* quote as a fragment of Clem. Alex.:

Ποιητέον ἐλεημοσύνας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου· οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων βουλομένοις· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ὑπόκρισιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

The clause ὁ γὰρ ἔχων κ.τ.λ. does not properly distinguish the two cases.

Lastly, how does the view suggested by *Apost. Const.* iv. 3 of the relation of ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. to its context in *Did.* i. agree with the words which there introduce the saying?

It comes in thus (p. 148):

ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων κ.τ.λ. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.

That τούτου should refer to the case of the person just spoken of is not unnatural. Even to him (it is said) applies the precept ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. There is a command to give applicable even to one who had nothing at the moment, but might have worked. He was a thief, πενήτων ἥρπασε ψωμόν, but let him steal no more, but rather labour to have to give τῷ χρείαν ἔχοντι. The duty of labouring to have to give εἴτε ἐλεημοσύνην εἴτε τοῖς χρεώσταις αὐτοῦ (2*f*, p. 154) is specially applied to the case of one destitute δι' ἀργίαν.

It is possible that there was a *logion*, Οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι, toned down in Acts xx. 35 and as above (ἤπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα), but intended to apply to the worthy as well as the unworthy recipient, inasmuch as it is a "Woe" to be under the necessity of accepting alms.

For other references to ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. in *Apost. Const.* see p. 152.

St Chrysostom begins a homily on Almsgiving and Hospitality (*Ecl. ex div. Hom.* 23, Migne *P. G.* vol. 63, 715) with the statement that *even a beggar* should give alms:

Ὁ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης λόγος, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἁρμόζει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πένητας· κἂν ᾖ τις ἐκ τοῦ προσαιτεῖν τρεφόμενος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν ὁ λόγος οὗτος.

The poor man's fund whereof to give is his power to labour (Migne *P. G.* vol. 60, 747).

b. It is perhaps simpler at first sight to take ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. as addressed to the giver with reference to the receiver last mentioned (ὁ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων). But should it be taken positively or negatively?

The negative sense amounts to "Sit elemosina tua &c." (p. 158): let it remain in thy possession: do not give indiscriminately, but γνῶθι τίνι (Ecclus. xii. 1). This sense has been arrived at by emendation (Hilg. ἱδρυσάτω), and also by understanding the "sweating" as apparently that of the alms-money in the hand, but really that of the hand clutching it. Sir Thomas Browne (*V. E.* ii. 5, 3) writes of gold "in sundry medical uses" that there are two extreme opinions, "some affirming it a powerful medicine in many diseases; others...who, beside the strigments and sudorous adhesions from men's hands acknowledge that nothing proceedeth from gold in the usual decoction thereof." For this reference I am indebted to Mr W. A. Cox, Fellow of St John's College. But the negative sense does not go well with παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ. on any view of the context. There is less objection to the positive sense in this connexion, "Sudet in manu &c." (p. 160), or *in manus tuas* (p. 150): even in the case of the μὴ χρείαν ἔχων there should be a disposition (while the judgment is in suspense) to bestow alms already *in manu*, or to "fill the hand" for the purpose of giving. But (*a*) gives the better emphasis: *even the beggar* last mentioned should give alms. This does not detract from the generality of the saying in itself: it may none the less be quoted without such special reference.

5. *Summary.*

a. The first thought suggested to me by the saying ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. was that it was a development of Gen. iii. 19 in the sense of Eph. iv. 28 and Acts xx. 35. This view of it was propounded in a paper on the *Didache* read in Cambridge early in 1885, and was repeated a little later in *Two Lectures*, which were published in 1886. It did not at once find favour, except with Prof. J. R. Harris (p. 153), but Resch now so fully accepts it as to give it without question or alternative (*Agrapha*,

p. 214). He suspects however that the Greek is "eine ungeschickte Übersetzung des hebräischen Urtextes." The sense is not altered by connecting the saying with its context as in sect. 4*a*, so as to bring it into still closer correspondence with Eph. iv. 28. Ps-Athanasius, as quoted in sect. 2*f* (p. 154), says in effect that the husbandman "sweats" so as to be able to give alms as well as pay his own expenses. No proof is needed that the *Didache* was likely to refer to the text Gen. iii. 19, but note that it is actually paraphrased in *Did.* xii., *ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω*. Compare St John vi. 27 and 2 Thess. iii. 10—12, ... *ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν*. I took *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* to inculcate a giving unasked, over and above giving *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι* (*Class. Review* ii. 283 *b*), and so saw no contradiction between the latter and *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς*. This is now known to be the view of Augustine, to say nothing of Clement and Climacus (sect. 2).

b. It seemed to be a distinct recommendation of the above view of the saying that it revealed traces of it in *Apost. Const.* (p. 152) just where they were to be looked for, and in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (p. 153), "labours" being supposed to refer to *ἱδρωτάτω*. The commentators however were agreed that no vestige of *ἱδρωτάτω* had been discovered and seemed to assume that the saying had been lost. Now we know from Latin versions of it, to say nothing of other evidence, that it was still extant when *Apost. Const.* was compiled. Resch (*Agrapha* pp. 214, 255) sees a trace of the saying (if not of the *Teaching*) in Herm. *Mand.* 2.

c. Before the discovery of these Latin versions I had satisfied myself that Clement was referring to the saying in *Quis dives salvetur*?* This reference is now scarcely doubtful in the light of Augustine's close general agreement with Clement (pp. 157—160) and of his way of bringing in his version of the

* Note that in p. 157, line 2, it was meant that, while *δίχα γογγυσμοῦ* may have been suggested by Phil. ii. 14 and 1 Pet. iv. 9, the combination with *διδόναι* points to the *Teaching*. So, if Clement had in mind *ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστι* (Matt. x. 11), this would not interfere with the conjecture that his *ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ἀναζητεῖν ὅστις ἄξιος εὖ παθεῖν* refers to the *Teaching*, any more than Augustine's "donec invenias" (Matt. xv. 8), for *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς*, would make his reference in *Sudet &c.* doubtful.

saying, *Sudet &c.*, to the Greek of which Clement was supposed to refer. The two lines of evidence, internal and external, point to the same conclusion.

d. The first trace of the saying in Latin with which I became acquainted was that in *Piers Plowman* (p. 158). Prof. Skeat cited the passage, in connexion with a paper which I had read on *ἱδρωτάτω*, at a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society (6th March 1888), and I conjectured that *Sit elemosina tua &c.* was a corruption of *Sudet &c.* (*Class. Review* ii. 263 *a*). Soon after this Dr Westcott gave me his reference to St Bernard (p. 163). Resch remarks on the above conjecture (*Agrapha*, p. 465) that it is confirmed by Petrus Comestor's *Desudet &c.*, he being the actual "clerke of the stories" quoted in *Piers Plowman*.

e. Lastly, how was the Latin "*in manu tua*," for *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*, to be accounted for? Clem. Alex. seemed to me to supply the answer. Granted that *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* properly means that the man must labour to get a supply of alms-money *into his hands* before he can give, Clement in *Quis dives salvetur?* applies the saying to a rich man who has enough and to spare without labouring, and he requires him to labour in finding, not the money to give but the persons to receive it. Augustine follows Clement closely and writes "Sudet eleemosyna *in manu tua*": the alms should "sweat" to be given away: the giver (that is to say) should take trouble in finding those to whom to give: "alius est quem tu debes quaerere...Quis non festinet?" It is possible to understand *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου* also of alms in the hands, which should "sweat" in or into them, but the other way of taking *εἰς κ.τ.λ.* seems preferable.

f. If *ἐλεημοσύνη* means not "alms-money" (p. 150) but the "spirit of almsgiving" (p. 162), the saying (without material change of sense) takes a transcendental form, and enjoins that the alms-spirit should be "for sweating" (p. 150) into the hands —striving to realise itself in the outward act of giving (cf. "sudare deunces," p. 162)—while the judgment is in suspense. "The *quality of mercy ... droppeth* as the gentle dew from heaven" (*Merchant of Venice*). This brings the

στάξαντος* τὴν δικαιοσύνην of Hermas into closer connexion with ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. (p. 153), and has the further advantage of making the saying directly applicable to Clement's rich man. But in merely seeking traces of the saying it matters little whether we understand ἐλεημοσύνη of alms-money or of the disposition to give, since in practice the two senses coalesce, and later writers would not always distinguish between them, labouring to have to give (Eph. iv. 28), in so far as such labour is necessary, being the outcome of the working of the willing mind.

Mr Wratislaw, who prefers the transcendental sense, writes (1) on ἱδρωτάω, "The fact of the occurrence of this ἅπαξ λεγόμενον is so singular that every exertion ought in my opinion to be made to explain it, rather than push it aside"; and (2) as to sect. 4 (p. 165), "accepting the hint that τούτου may mean the hypocritical recipient of alms, who does not need them, I translate: 'Nay, and with respect to this man too it has been said, Let thine almsgiving—we should here use the perverted word *charity*—long to sweat into thy hands, till thou knowest to whom to give.' The frame of mind for giving is always to be present, but is to be restrained by the knowledge that some are hypocritical beggars."

This could not be expressed, word for word, in Latin. But if Augustine's *Sudet, &c.* means that the concrete *eleemosyna* already *in manu* should desire to be given away, he comes near (but from the opposite pole) to the sense of the Greek, that the "alms" should desire to come *into the hands* for the purpose of being given away. He expressly disconnects the precept from the case of any sort of beggar, contrasting it with "Omni petenti te da." This minimises the negative element in μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς, which can no longer mean, "Hesitate to give to some who *ask*." Asking being excluded, and παντὶ δίδου, give to "high, low, rich and poor," being an impossible precept,

* Chrysost. (*loc. cit.* p. 162) writes that as a flame is quenched ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔλαιον ἐπιστάζον, so virginity ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἐλεημοσύνην. Anointed with this oil (p. 155) the Christian athlete is too slippery for his adversary (*Hom. in Matth.* 64, *al.* 65, Migne vol. 58, 615). In the former passage he says, "Wash the hands of the soul τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ."

the man who desires to give must use his judgment in choosing to whom to give.

We have seen that Bernard and Comestor likewise set *ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* above *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*. So too does Clement of Alexandria, if (as I think) he refers to it, and so Climacus by his *εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι* (pp. 148, 155).

C. TAYLOR.

ADVERSARIA IV.

Liv. XXI. 43. 2.

Ac nescio an maiora uincula maiorisque necessitatis nobis quam captiuis uestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laeuaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effugium quidem nauem † habentibus.

habentibus of MSS. is, I believe, a corruption of *habentis*, itself a corruption of *habetis*. Any participle is here out of place; a new sentence, and a new 2nd person plural, seem absolutely required.

Liv. XXI. 52. 7.

Comitio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectuque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum † ut alia uetustate obsoleuissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam.

Instead of *ut alia* the codex Puteaneus (P) gives *obutilia* corrected to *obutilia*. This can hardly have been *ut alia*, or even *uti alia*, was it *ut ut alia?*

Liv. XXII. 12. 4.

*Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota uidet, increpans quidem uictos tandem † quos martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de uirtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit: ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminii Sempronii*que *simili futura sibi res esset.*

For *quos* read *antiquos* and compare 25. 10, *si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset.*

Liv. XXIII. 17. 7.

Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis cum a Casino dictatorem Romanum legionesque † nimis accipi nuntiassent.

Perhaps *pronis animis.*

Liv. XXII. 4. 4.

Flaminius...id tantum hostium, quod ex aduerso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput † deceptae insidiae.

deceptae is here 'disguised,' as in Ovid, Met. XIV. 765, where *forma deus aptus anili* seems to be a corruption of *forma deceptus anili*, as I suggested in this Journal XII. p. 76. See also Mr Simmons' note on the passage, p. 238 of his ed. of Met. XIII., XIV.

Suet. Vita Lucani, p. 78 in Reifferscheid's Suetoni Reliquiae *Extant eius complures et alii, ut Iliacon Saturnalia Catachthonion Siluarum X tragoedia Medea inperfecta salticae fabulae* XIII. *et † appāmata.*

appāmata *Reifferscheid's codex M.* ippamata *Reifferscheid's codices W and B.*

Weber conj. *epigrammata*, which Heitland in Haskins' Lucan p. XV calls the only reasonable emendation. May it not be *acroamata?* Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* p. 27, defines *acroama* as an entertainment for the ears, quoting besides other passages Plin. Epp. 6. 31. 13, *interdum acroamata audiebamus.* Petron. 78, *nouum acroama, cornicines.* I should suppose something accompanied by music was intended.

Lactantius on Stat. Theb. VI. 322, ASTRA INSIDIOSA. *periculosa ideo quia sunt signa uisu terribilia. monebat ergo Phaetontem sol, ut non ageret currus per australem, sed septentrionalem plagam. Lucanus de Phaetonte in libro qui inscribitur Iliacon ita.*

> *Haud aliter raptum transuerso limite caeli*
> *Flammati Phaethonta poli uidere deique*
> *Cum uice mutata totis in montibus ardens*
> *Terra dedit caelo* naturaque uersa.*

This fragment is thus given in Lindenbrog's (Tiliobroga) edition of Statius (a. 1600), and so in Valpy's reprint of the Delphin, 1824. In a MS. of the xvth Century, in the Phillipps library at Cheltenham 7283, it is given as follows[1]:

[1] At the end of the treatise of Suetonius *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, one of the earlier excerpts which the Phillipps codex contains, is the following

Haut aliter raptum transuerso limite caeli
Flammantis phaetonta poly uidere deique
Cum uice mutata totis inmontibus ardens
Terra dedit coelo (*sic*) lucem: naturaque uersa:
Obstupuit lacrimis pater ira Iuppiter arsit

Barth had already conjectured *caelo lucem*, and Bährens, PLM Supplem. p. 367, states that it is so given in some MSS.

The same page of the MS. gives the two following epigrams.

EPITAPHIUS MARIE.

Hic maria infoelix crudeli peste perente (changed to -ta)
Contegor o quantum seuit acerba lues
Vix mea bissenos etas compleuerat annos
Inuidit teneris cloto cruenta genis
Meque rapit saltem non essem peste penta
Hoc mihi debuerant contribuisse dey
Nec doleo mortem genus est miserabile mortis
Foedauit uultus pestis iniqua meos
Sed mea sic quoniam cecinerunt fata sorores
Nec reuocare datum est Rite queri nequeo.

EPITAPHIUS MEIE.

(Pithou Epigr. Vet. Lib. III. p. 136, Burm. Anth. Lat. IV. 311, Muratori III. p. 1264.)

Que fueram septem natorum mater iniquis
Occubui fatis sic uoluere dey
Meia fui foelix septem circumdata natis
Dum uixi: astabat turba tenella mihi:
Vt mihi grata uicem natorum turba referret
Hoc mihi de pario marmore struxit opus
Manibus atque meis nati pia uota dedere
Persoluere meis manibus inferias

note in the same hand-writing: '*Hic antiquissimum finit exemplar quod non integrum uidetur. Fabius scripsit Romae.*' The MS. contains, besides, Columella B. x, the *Elegia Maecenatis*, the *de Legibus* of Cicero: but I found this considerably interpolated.

Postquam nulla mey superos uos cura fatigat
Natorum memores este precor superi.

1, 2 *not in Burm.* 4 Romula turba *Burm.* turba tenella *Muratori* 5 referret *Muratori* parabat *Pith. Burm.* 6 patrio *Burm.* 9 Superi *Pith. Mur. Burm.* 10 *apud solum Mur. reperitur cum nostro.*

Aesch. Suppl. 909, Wecklein. δακοσάχ.

Wecklein's second volume shows a variety of conjectures on this mysterious word. Before any new ones are attempted, it may be as well to suggest that the termination seems to be Egyptian, and perhaps demonic. The papyrus magica of the Leyden Museum, recently edited anew by Dieterich (Leipzig, 1888), contains many cases of similar names terminating in αχ, ιχ, ικ, ωχ, ωκ.

p. 801 l. 24 ψαμοριχ 27 ψαμμοριχ.

p. 802 l. 15 εμηχαερωχθ βαρωχ 16 ιεουχ ιωχ 17 βαρβαιαωχ.

p. 811 l. 16 τὸν πεωχ τὸν βαϊνχωωχ l. 19 τὸν ιωκ.

p. 817 l. 15 κραββρακ 16 βρειανοιχ 17 παταθνακ 26 ιωβρακ.

Again with the mysterious ἰόφ of Suppl. 837 compare ἐιοφαλεον papyr. mag. p. 811 l. 17. On p. 799 l. 30 σὺ εἰ (*sic*) τὸ ὠὸν τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ λοχίας, the papyrus has αγειον, cf. ἄγειος of M in Suppl. 870.

In the same papyrus is a noticeable instance of a participle followed by καὶ and an imperative, instead of two imperatives or no καὶ: p. 804 l. 3 ἐὰν βούλει τινὰ ὀργιζόμενόν σοί τινα παῦσαι, γράψας [εἰς ὀθόνι]ον ζ[μύρνῃ] τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ὄνομα καὶ κράτει τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χ[ειρί].

I believe this construction to have been a recurring one in *prayers.* Liv. XXI. 45, *Iouem precatus et secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.* Peregrinatio S. Siluiae 49 *Tunc ego gratias agens Deo primum et sic ipsum rogaui.* May not Vergil have this use in his mind when he writes Aen. IX. 402 *Ocius adducto torquens hastile lacerto, Suspiciens altam Lunam, et sic uoce precatur?*

Not less noticeable, as an illustration of a famous difficulty, Soph. O. T. 863, is the following, pap. p. 809 l. 11 ἐπάκουσόν

μου καὶ τέλεσόν μοι τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐπίδος φοροῦντι μοι τήνδε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν πάντι τόπῳ, ἐν πάντι χρόνῳ ἄπληκτον, ἀκαταπόνητον, ἄσπιλον ἀπὸ πάντος κινδύνου τηρηθῆναι φοροῦντί μοι ταύτην δύναμιν. Here again, I think Sophocles may have been determined in the choice of his construction by something *religious*.

Prop. III. 15. 33, 34.

Litore sic tacito sonitus rarescit harenae,
Sic cadit inflexo lapsa puella genu.

I have tried to explain this double *sic* (*Journal of Philol.* IX. p. 56) as attributable to a wish in the poet to represent the two things compared as exactly parallel. So, I think, Varro L. L. X. 41 *in nummis sic est ad unum victoriatum denarius, sic ad alterum victoriatum alter denarius*, for so Spengel reads (ed. of 1885) for *si ad alterum* of *F* the best MS. The proportion is the same, and it is this exact sameness of proportion which the double *sic* conveys. I would compare the double ὡς of such passages as Anth. P. IX. 746. 2 ὡς μίαν, ὡς πάσας ἔμπνοα δερκομένας, 'as one, as all' = 'as one, so all,' cf. *dum-dum* as explained by Quintil. IX. 3. 16 in Catull. LXII. 45.

Prop. IV. 7. 57, 58.

Vna Clytaemnestrae stuprum uehit altera Cressae
Portat mentitae lignea monstra bouis.

Ten years ago, *J. of Philol.* for 1880, p. 236, I corrected this passage as follows:

Vna Clytaemnestrae stuprum *uel adultera* Cressae
Portat mentitae lignea monstra bouis,

with which compare Anth. L. Riese 131. 10, 11, *Vatem te poterat reddere ligneum Qui uaccam trabibus lusit adulteris.*

It was therefore with some satisfaction that I read in *Philologus* for 1890, p. 30 in a paper entitled Ad poetas Latinos miscellanea critica, by Prof. Robert Unger, exactly the same emendation *uel adultera*. I am not sorry to be able to support an emendation which I think indisputably right by so considerable an authority: meanwhile I take the opportunity of reminding

the philological public that the priority of this conj. rests with myself.

Varro de L. L. IX. 54 Spengel (1885).

Idem hoc obliquo apud Plautum:

Video enim te nihili pendere prae Philolacho omnis homines quod est ex Ni et Hili; quare dictus est Nihili qui non hili erat. Casus tum cum commutantur, de quo dicitur, de homine; dicimus enim hic homo Nihili [*est*] *et huius hominis Nihili et hunc hominem Nihili. Si in illo commutaremus, diceremus ut hoc Linum et Limum, sic Nihilum, non hic Nihili, et* [*ut*] *huic Lino et Limo, sic Nihilo, non huic Nihili.*

Varro is here contrasting the use of *nihili* as an indeclinable noun used in any case, with *nihilum* as declined regularly in all the cases. The former is used of men: the latter is comparable with ordinary neuters in *-um*. Read therefore: *casus tum cum commutantur* (or perhaps, *commutatur*) *de quo dicitur? de homine.* When *nihili* shifts from one case to another, nominative, genitive, dative, accusative indifferently, we use it as a description of man: *hic nihili, huius nihili, huic nihili, hunc nihili.* But if we inflect the word *nihilum* itself, then we say, nom. *nihilum*, gen. *nihili*, dat. *nihilo*, acc. *nihilum*. *Nihili* therefore stands on a different footing from *nihilum*.

Varro de L. L. IX. 47 Spengel.

Item reprehendunt, quod dicatur haec Strues, hic Hercules, hic Homo; debuisset enim dici, si esset analogia, hic Hercul, haec Strus, hic Homon. Haec ostendunt †noua non analogian esse, sed obliquos casus non habere caput ex sua analogia.

So the Florence MS. Spengel's *non non* is ultra cacophonous, and can hardly be right even in Varro. I suggest *notham non*. These cases show not that the analogy is a spurious one, but that the oblique cases have no analogous nominative.

Philodemi *περὶ ποιημάτων* libri II. fragmenta (ed. Hausrath, Teubner, 1889), p. 242, l. 12

ὅταν δὲ λέγ[η 'πρὸς
κίονα μακρήν' καὶ '<ἔ>χει
δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς μα-
κράς,' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ψεύ-

δεται, τὴν γὰρ κίον[α μα
κρὰν οὐδεὶς λέγει [πλὴν ἐ-
πὶ πλάτει ἑλλη[νίζων συγ-
γραφεύς

The bracketed portions are supplements. In one case the supplement is transparently wrong. Can any one doubt that Philodemus adds another Homeric instance of a kind which he considered only explicable on some principle of sound, i.e. as grateful to the ear? He is quoting Il. H. 86, *ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ*. The Hellespont is narrow. If Homer called it broad, it was because the word sounded well. The accent *πλάτει* is of course not in the papyrus.

Catull. LXII. 34, 35.

Nocte latent fures quos idem saepe reuertens
Hespere mutato conprendis nomine eosdem.

In the new edition of my Commentary (1889) I maintain the genuineness of *eosdem* which MSS. give against *eous*, the emendation of Schrader. I fancy that Germanicus may have thought of this v. of Catullus when he writes in his Aratea, Prognost. fr. III. 49 Breysig (1867), *At faciles glebas astringit frigore uerno Alma venus, pecudis claro cum uellere fulsit, Sub lucem exoriens, eademque ubi tempore eodem Aetherium uenit taurum super, imbribus atris Et tonitru crebraque abscondit grandine terras.*

Cic. Orator IX. 29.

Dicat igitur Attice uetustissimus ille scriptor ac politissimus Lysias, quis enim id posset negare? dum intellegamus hoc esse Atticum in Lysia, non quod tenuis sit atque inornatus, sed quod †non nihil habeat insolens aut ineptum.

Possibly *modo* has fallen out before *non* 'almost nothing'; unless indeed *non* has taken the place of *modo*, and *modo nihil* can = 'one might say, nothing.'

Orator XLVI. 155.

Atque etiam a quibusdam sero iam emendatur antiquitas, qui haec reprehendunt. Nam 'pro deum atque hominum fidem' 'deorum' dicunt. Itu credo hoc illi nesciebant an dabat hanc licentiam consuetudo?

In the 1845 edition of Orelli and Baiter the last sentence is given thus: *Ita, credo, hoc illi nesciebant: an dabat hanc licentiam consuetudo?* This must, I think, be wrong: the expression becomes pointless and flat. Sandys gives after Schütz, *id, credo, illi nesciebant:* which is sufficiently Latin, and perfectly intelligible. Yet *ita credo,* the reading of the Avranches MS. and a combination which occurs several times in Cicero, ought not I think to be rejected without more consideration than it has received from this careful editor. Besides Fin. I. 39, de Legib. II. 46 where it means 'I think so,' 'I suppose so,' Merguet quotes pro Quinct. 39, S. Rosc. 120, Verr. III. 8. In all these it is ironical, 'No doubt,' 'of course.' I believe it has this meaning in the passage of the Orator. There are many, Cic. says, who try to correct antiquity: they will not have '*pro deum atque hominum fidem!*' but *pro deorum.* Doubtless they are right. The men of the past cannot have known this point of correctness: or was it that custom made something wrong permissible? And there is a reason for such an ironical *ita credo;* for, as he himself tells us in 156, it was optional to say in Cicero's time '*pro deum*' or '*pro deorum*'; the point was unsettled, and a purist might insist on *deorum* without fear of being laughed at. Whereas, in other combinations *triumuirum, sestertium, nummum* custom had pronounced decidedly against the longer form.

Or, still retaining *ita credo* as a standing combination which cannot well be taken to pieces as *Ita? credo* or *ita, credo,* Cic. may proceed to put his objection as a two-sided interrogation. 'I do not doubt them. But was it that our forefathers were ignorant or that they availed themselves of a prevailing use?' This is perhaps more probable.

Plat. Tim. 66.

τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν προλελεπτυσμένων μὲν ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος, εἰς δὲ τὰς στενὰς φλέβας ἐνδυομένων, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν αὐτόθι μέρεσι γεώδεσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀέρος ξυμμετρίαν ἔχοντα, ὥστε κινήσαντα περὶ ἄλληλα ποιεῖν κυκᾶσθαι, κυκώμενα δὲ περιπίπτειν τε καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἐνδυόμενα ἕτερα κοῖλα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, περιτεινόμενα τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν—ἃ δὴ νοτίδος περὶ ἀέρα κοίλης περιτεθείσης, τότε μὲν γεώδους, τότε δὲ καὶ καθαρᾶς, νοτερὰ ἀγγεῖα ἀέρος ὕδατα κοῖλα

περιφερῆ τε γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς καθαρᾶς διαφανεῖς περιστῆναι, κληθείσας ὄνομα πομφόλυγας, τὰ δὲ τῆς γεώδους, ὁμοῦ κινουμένης τε καὶ αἰρομένης, ζέσιν τε καὶ ζύμωσιν ἐπίκλην λεχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ τούτων αἴτιον τῶν παθημάτων ὀξὺ προσρηθῆναι.

Mr Archer Hind rightly calls this sentence 'portentous,' yet is fain to explain it as it stands. I have two suggestions to offer which I submit for his consideration: (1) that the dat. *τοῖς ἐνοῦσι* depends on *ἐνδυομένων*, the construction shifting from *εἰς* with accus. to simple dative. Then *καὶ ὅσα ἀέρος ξυμμετρίαν ἔχοντα* = 'and into such particles of air as are adaptable,' 'adjustible,' *ἀέρος* depending on *ὅσα* not on *ξυμμετρίαν*, (2) that *ἃ δὴ* is a corruption of *δεῖ δή*. The sentence is then perfectly straightforward; the preliminary conditions are stated in the words *τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν προλελεπτυσμένων* to *εἰσιοῦσιν*, the consequences in *δεῖ δὴ* to *προσρηθῆναι*.

Of these two suggestions the latter (*δεῖ* for *ἃ*) is, I believe, deserving of some consideration. The former is of course far more tentative, as *ἔχοντα* in any case seems peculiar; though with Stallbaum I certainly believe it defensible as = *ἔχει*.

Suet. Gramm. 11 (Reifferscheid, p. 110).

Si quis forte mei domum Catonis
Depictas minio assulas, et illos
Custodes uidet hortuli Priapos;
Miratur, quibus ille disciplinis
Tantam sit sapientiam assecutus,
Quem tris cauliculi, selibra farris,
Racemi duo, tegula sub uda
Ad summam prope nutriant senectam.

The Phillipps MS. above mentioned gives *Mirator*. In Orientius' Commonitorium I. 50, *Hanc cura et propriis consequitor meritis*, the imperative was restored by Delrio for *consequitur*, which he found in his (now lost) MS., and which is the reading of the single extant MS., originally in the library of S. Martin of Tours and till recently in the possession of Lord Ashburnham. It seems more than probable that this imperatival form is right in the verse of Bibaculus cited by Suetonius.

Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 145 sqq. ed. Ludwich, 1877.

εἰ μέν γ' εἰαρινοῖσιν ἐν ἄστρασιν Ἀρνειοῖο
Πασιφαὴς εἰλοῖτο βροτοῖς παυδία Σελήνη,
ὁππότε τις νούσῳ ἀρημένος ἀλγινοέσσῃ
ἀργαλέην ἴσχῃσι μεληδόνα, μή νύ τι πῆμα
δειδέχθαι· παιὼν γὰρ ἐναίσιμος ἀνθρώποισιν
†εἰ δέ τε οἷς κεν τοῦδε κατ' εἰδώλοιο φέρηται
εὐδερκὴς κερόεσσα Σεληναίη κλυτόπωλος.

Ludwich mentions no less than six emendations of the obelized words, all wrong. It is clear that εἰ δέ τε is simply εἴδεται.

Eurip. Androm. 397 sqq.

ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτα δύρομαι, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶν
οὐκ ἐξικμάζω καὶ λογίζομαι κακά;

I fancy that Euripides wrote λυγίζομαι, with which ἐξικμάζω 'I exude in sweat' well agrees. Andromache recalls herself from the comparatively insignificant misery of her lot since she had become the wife of Neoptolemus to the more pressing and to her ever haunting affliction of her first husband Hector's death, the burning of Troy, her own enslavement and reluctant marriage with the son of her husband's murderer. *These* are *her* immediate sorrows, *not* the danger she is in at present. 'Yet why do I mourn over this last unhappiness (becoming the mother of a child by Neoptolemus) instead of (wrestling off in sweat =) giving full vent to my real and ever present agonies?' namely, by recounting them, one after another, as she does in the verses immediately following.

ἥτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἕκτορος τροχηλάτους
κατεῖδον οἰκτρῶς τ' Ἴλιον πυρούμενον,
αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην
κόμης ἐπισπασθεῖσ'· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφικόμην
Φθίαν, φονεῦσιν Ἕκτορος νυμφεύομαι.

In so recounting them, Andromache goes through a *struggle* or mental wrestling, and the successive pangs thus elicited are so many ἰκμάδες wrung from her in the effort to *throw* the grief she is fighting.

If this view is right, it is the exact opposite of the scholiast's, who explains *ἐξικμάζω* as *δακρύω, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν κακὰ* of the danger of the moment, i.e. the murderous design of Menelaus. In both points I think he was wrong: and at least as regards *ἐξικμάζειν*, no similar use has been or probably ever will be alleged.

Petronii fragm. XXXIII Bücheler.

Nolo ego semper idem capiti suffundere costum
Nec toto stomachum conciliare mero.
Taurus amat gramen mutata carpere ualle
Et fera mutatis sustinet ora cibis.
Ipsa dies ideo grato nos perluit haustu
Quod permutatis hora recurrit equis.

Neither Bücheler, Riese, nor Bährens takes any exception to the last two verses of this epigram. Yet *dies perluit homines haustu* is a strange, and to me almost unintelligible expression. The poet must, I think, have written not *nos*, but *nox*. The reason why night is welcome when it plunges day after day in ocean is that it is a change. Before the light and heat of another day begins, night intervenes with its darkness and cool. *hora*, I think, is night as it comes round (*recurrit*), and runs its own course *permutatis equis*; to this the form of the sentence seems to point, the approach of night being welcome because it runs a different course from that of the sun, and the sense of change is pleasurable.

Stobaeus Eclog. Phys. et Eth. I. p. 164 Wachsmuth.

παράδειγμα δέ σοι ἐπίγειον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐμπῖπτον φράσω· τὰ †ἐπίκηρα ζῷα, οἷον τὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγω, νηχόμενα θεώρησον· φερομένου γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ ἀντιτυπία τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν στάσις γίνεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ μὴ συγκατενεχθῆναι τῷ ὕδατι.

ἐπίκηρα is without meaning. Possibly it is an error for *ἐπὶ ξηρᾶ* 'on dry land.' Hermann's *ἐπίγεια*, Wachsmuth's *ἠπειρωτικὰ*, are improbable.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

NOTES ON GLOSS. VAT. 3321 (GOETZ).

(Continued from vol. xix. no. 37.)

Page 102 47 *Iuncias tenues.* Read *iuncidas.*

103 2 *Kalpio una ex novis Musis.* Read *Kalliope u. e. novem musis.*

103 8 *Kai cancelli.* Read *caulae.*

103 9 *Kalones galliae militum.* Read *galearii:* so for *gallicerie* in Glossae *Affatim,* p. 491 36: see Warren Gloss. Sang. p. 196 138.

103 11 *Kaltulum in quo mortui deferuntur vel vestitum decretum seu lineum.* Read *Capulum i. q. m. deferuntur; Caltulum vestitum detritum* (from *a*) *seu lineum.*

103 15 *Kasiner senex.* Read *casnar.*

103 16 *Kappadinarius voluntarius.* Read *cuppedinarius voluptarius.*

103 20 *Kaloristas quod est inseparabilis Graecum est.* Read *aoristos.*

103 21 *Kategoriam dilatinominis. a* reads *delatatio,* which I would correct to *denotatio.*

103 28 *Labina labrum inferens.* Read *labsum* or *lapsum* from Isidore 16 1 61; Glossae *Abavus,* p. 359 12.

103 36 *Laba dealbatio:* perhaps *levigatio:* Gloss. Sang. p. 166 Warren *dealbabis levigabis....*

103 43 *Lacerti murices in brachiis.* Read *mures,* from Isidore 11 1 117.

104 4 *Lancinat bellicat vel trucidat.* Read *vellicat.*

104 8 *Lancunaria pendentia luminaria.* For *lacuaria,* and this again a confusion with *laquearia;* compare 104 21 *laquearia catenae aureae,* and see 'Contributions' etc. p. 513.

104 11 *Lancinata cutae cuiolis morsibus laceratum.* For *cuiolis abcd* have *oculis*, which is probably corrupt for *acutis.*

104 22 *Lacteum crocei coloris.* Read *luteum; a* has *lateum.*

104 25 *Laasis quassati lassatis vel pro salutis.* Read perhaps *lassis quassatis, lassatis, prostratis.*

104 26 *Lapraentes laventes.* Read *lapsantes labentes.*

104 31 *Laturorum genus navis set latrociniorum.* Read *Liburnarum* (? or *Liburnae*) *genus navis. Laverna dea latrociniorum.*

104 32 *Lacisiores vitae remissiores.* Read *laxioris v. remissioris.*

104 35 *Laquearis deauratis.* Probably *laquearibus aureis, deauratis.*

104 36, 37 *Lactare circumvenire cumquassare vel evertere. Labefactare circumvenire et quo supra.* The glosses must originally have run *Lactare circumvenire. Labefactare cumquassare, evertere.*

105 5, 6 *Larbalis demoniosus. Larva vibra* (i.e. *umbra*) *aut maleficus vel incantator.* The words *aut maleficus* etc. should be added to *demoniosus*, forming part of the gloss on *larvalis.*

106 4 *Lappe tribuli penicies vel calamitas.* The words *penicies* (=*pern.*) *vel calamitas* belong to a gloss on *labes: lappae tribuli* must refer in some way to Vergil Georgic I 153.

106 17 *Legio martio* (*martia* rightly *a*) *numerus militum quasi morte consecratus.* For *morte* read *Marti.*

106 24 *Lenrus ut anguis inlernatus.* Read *Lernaeus anguis, in Lerna natus.*

106 30 *Leso offenso poso.* Perhaps *offenso, iniuriam passo* (Servius on Aen. 1 8).

106 36 *Leni sanguine leni lubrico.* Probably *levi sanguine. lubrico.*

106 41 *Lentis navis pusilla.* Read *lyntres, naves pusillas.*

107 4 *Lemba navis perita.* Read *lembus, navis piratica*; Gloss. *Affatim*, p. 533 38.

107 22 *Lexa luxuriosus.* Perhaps *luxans* or *luxibundus*: see Löwe, Prodromus p. 275.

107 24 *Letagito infirmitas somnium infirmum somnium.* Read *lethargus.*

107 26 *Letandum tardandum.* Read *lentandum.*

107 44 *Lebigavis linibus vel de alvis.* Probably *levigabis, levabis vel deasciabis.*

107 47 *Liptis filiis patris.* Read *neptes filias fratris.*

108 18 *Linarius retiarius.* Perhaps *retiarius* here means a maker of nets: in any case the use of *linarius* deserves remark.

108 25 *Litinices cornices.* Read *liticines cornicines.*

108 32 *Licanus candidatio dicitur.* Perhaps *lychinus candelabrum d.*

108 34. *Lini cecindelia lucernis.* Read (from 109 11) *linicindelia lucernae.* The word *linicindele* should be added to the lexicons.

109 13 *Limbunculus* (i.e. *lembunculus*). Add this instance to those in Georges.

109 25 *Livere peccavit aut dimisit.* Perhaps *deliquit peccavit: liberavit misit.*

109 27 *Litator sponsor provocator vel convictor.* Probably for *litigator.*

109 27 *Lisymmachus solutus vel litis.* Perhaps *lysimachus solutor litis.*

109 38 *Lixa adqua dicebant antiqui unde et elixare habilis dicitur. Habilis* represents the lost epithet *vilis:* compare the gloss quoted by Löwe Prodromus p. 403 *lixa vilis aqua* etc. Read therefore *lixa vilis aqua d. a., u. e. elixare dicitur.*

110 7 *Liberat temperat.* Read *librat.*

110 9 *Litare qui ostia frequenter accipiunt.* Probably for *litare dicuntur qui hostia frequenter sacrificant:* Gloss. Sang. p. 167 142 Warren *litat sacrificat,* and so other glossaries.

111 6 *Ludicta qui ludis gerunturpia vel inhonesta.* Probably for *ludii dicti qui ludis gerunt turpia* etc.

111 7 *Lubrica inania.* Read *ludicra.*

111 9 *Luitio iuris vel verbum.* Notice, and expunge the intrusive *vel.*

111 10 *Lumini torio duro aut truculento vultu.* Read *lumine torvo, diro* etc. In Gloss. Sang. p. 256 26 of this volume,

where the same gloss recurs, *diro hae truculento vultu* stands perhaps for *diro hoc est.*

111 12 *Lupanar locus turpis. Lupanaria mulier enim cesta* (so *c*: *cesta* is omitted in the other MSS.) *lupa dicta est meretrix de qua hoc vocabulo.* Probably a confusion of two glosses: *Lupa meretrix. Lupanar locus turpis: mulier enim incesta lupa dicta est, de qua hoc vocabulum.*

111 31 *Luam excipiam.* Read *expiem.*

112 1 *Lugurrit liquet.* Read *ligurrit lingit,* from Glossae *Abavus,* p. 361 6.

112 4 *Lumen lustro. Lumine prespicuo lustratio. Lustrato specto aut visitato.* Read probably *lumine lustro, prospicio; lustrum lustratio; lustrato spectato aut visitato.*

112 16 *Lustrat circuit peragratum inussit.* Probably for *lustrat circuit, invisit: lustratum peragratum.*

112 20 *Lutea posse aut rubea.* Read *crocea a. r.*

112 26 *Macinatur parat instruit macinis argumentum.* Read *machinatur p. i., machina argumentum:* or perhaps *machinis argumentis,* from Glossae *Affatim,* p. 535 47.

112 28 *Macte magis autem.* Read *magis aucte:* Minton Warren on Gloss. Sangall. p. 213.

112 32 *Magnificentia munera vel datum.* Probably for *magnificentia magnorum factio; Munificentia munerum datio.*

112 37 *Magistratum addicat idest expoliatum exuit. Addicat* is no doubt for *abdicat:* perhaps *expoliatum exuit* may stand for *se potestate exuit.*

112 44 *Manes inferna vel sepulcra favillasti maiorum.* Perhaps *vel sepulcra vel favillas.*

113 4 *Mantia fluentia ut manurefluere.* Read *manantia fl. u. manare fluere.*

113 6 *Mappaliae curae pastorum.* Read *mapalia casae p.*

113 9 *Macius citius vel ocius.* Read *maturius.*

113 15 *Malus extrenitas curbor navis.* Read *extremitas arborum,* from 112 42.

113 17 *Manda deceptio vel fraus.* Read *menda.*

113 23 *Marcus conlapsio.* Read *marcor.*

113 24 *Mature fuga maturius hinc descendit.* Read *maturate fugam, m. h. descendite.*

113 33 *Manuale orare.* Read *orarium:* Minton Warren on Gloss. Sangall. p. 213.

113 40 *Marcidus languidus in ariditate proximus.* Read *ariditati proximus:* Glossae *Affatim*, p. 536 22 note.

114 2 *Mastigiae tauri et flagella.* Read *mastiges, taurea flagella.*

114 21 *Mandet superaspersus est unguento.* Read *madet.*

114 22 *Mante ampliissimae.* Probably for *macte amplissime.*

114 31 *Magnanimis animi noxiae vel magnae virtutis.* Perhaps *animi innoxii.*

115 1 *Magava casas pastorum* etc. Read *magalia.*

115 2 *Macina magnitudo.* Probably for two glosses: *machina...maiestas magnitudo.*

115 8 *Mancica vargila.* Read *mantica bargilla:* for *bargilla* see Du Cange.

115 15 *Metietur medicatur vel redemptur.* Probably for *medetur medicatur vel remediatur.*

115 23 *Medidetur medicat remedium.* Perhaps *medetur medicatur, remedium dat.*

115 26 *Metare munere.* Read *munire.*

115 32 *Mercatum emet vel comparat.* Read *mercatur emit.*

115 33 *Metenas regiones.* Perhaps *metas.*

116 28 *Mercentur amant.* Read *emant.*

116 29 *Mergiet mergi.* Read *mergier.*

116 41 *Memfis turborugus.* Read *turbo rubus* from *a:* then perhaps write *πέμφιξ, turbo; turbo ρόμβος.*

117 23 *Miscellaneum commexticiuen.* Read *commisticium.*

118 3 *Minium efficiorum functionum.* Read *munium officiorum.*

118 6 *Mirumne sine dubio.* Read *mirum ni.*

118 19 *Moenia edificia muris superporta vel propugnacula.* Perhaps *Maeniana aedificia muris superposita; moenia propugnacula.*

118 27 *Moligearcem extruere partem.* Read *moliri arcem, extruere arcem.*

118 36 *Motinum sine cornibus aut semitruncum.* Read *mutilum. Semitruncus* should be added to the lexicons.

118 41 *Modestare regere.* Add *modestare* to the lexicons.

119 28 *Monstra sane dicta perhibita monstranda quod aliquid significato demonstret.* Probably *perhibent a monstrando, quod aliquid significatu demonstrent.*

121 5 *Mutulat accelerat.* Read *maturat.*

121 13 *Musiae amatoriae gesta.* Read *Milesiae, amatoria gesta.*

121 15 *Musitanter leniter.* Add the adverb *musitanter* to the lexicons.

121 16 *Muscos fontes.* Read *muscosi fontes* (Vergil Ecl. 7 45); the interpretation is lost.

121 19 *Murice an purpuram dicit anentioratam fluminis quam asperiteneri saxa et acuto im murice ramis.* Perhaps *murice, an purpuram dicit, an acuta in ora tam fluminis quam asperi maris (?freti) saxa, ut 'acuto in murice remi.'* (Aen. 5 205.)

121 32 *Musicum mimicum vel piticum qui locutio mimosam facit.* Probably *musicum pythicum: mimicum qui locutionem mimosam facit.* Add *mimosus* to the lexicons.

121 45 *Musteum fiscidum medium vel viridem.* Probably *mucidum viscidum, muscidum viridem.*

122 25 *Naduum genetivum.* Read *nativum.*

122 26 *Nates natae filiae natantes.* Read *nantes natantes, natae filiae.*

122 30 *Navales campi culturae dediti.* Read *novales.*

122 32 *Natium natura legentium.* Read *nativum, naturale, genetivum.*

123 4 *Necromantia mortuorum divinantia.* If *divinantia* be right (*a* has *divinatio*), the word should be added to the lexicons.

123 39 *Nictura oculorum frequentia.* Festus p. 177 M attests the forms *nictus* and *nictatio;* but *nictura* (= winking) may be genuine. For *oculorum frequentia* we should perhaps read *oculorum frequenti coniventia.*

123 45 *Nequinunt pronequeunt nasolent. Nequeunt greciaredirent.* Read *nequinunt pro nequeunt, ut solinunt pro solent. Nequinunt Graeciam redire.* Festus p. 162 M *nequinunt pro*

nequeunt, ut solinunt...pro solent dicebant antiqui. Livius in Odyssia, 'partim errant, nequinont Graeciam redire.'

123 47 *Nemoratores silva strati.* The word *nemorator* is unknown to the lexicons. Does *silva strati* stand for *silvestres,* or *silvis nati?* or *silvatici?*

124 1 *Neutericus novicius aut neutrum partis verba causa nectoricus.* Read probably *neotericus novicius: neutrum neutrius partis, verbi causa necutrius.*

124 55 *Nimplia virgo caelestis vel nomen aquae.* Read *nympha,* and *numen.*

126 21 *Novalia loca in quibus et marini abes eiciuntur.* Read *navalia loca in quibus ec mari naves educuntur:* for *educuntur,* comp. Gloss. Sangall. p. 260 20 of this volume.

126 50 *Nudi pedalia.* Read *nodi,* and add this use of *pedale* to the lexicons.

127 9 *Numine dive vel dei sivescen* (*sceni a*). Perhaps *numine divae, religione deae sive signo:* Glossae Vergilianae p. 455 17 *numine divae, deae religione.*

127 25 *Nutum voluntate sive cinno vel aspectu.* Read *nutu voluntate sive signo v. a.*

127 34 *Obeunde fugiendi.* Read *obeundi fungendi.*

127 40 *Oblectat obicit vel delectat.* Read *obiectat obicit; oblectat delectat.*

128 1 *Obire ingerere vel ultro largire.* May *obire* stand for *offire?*

128 2 *Obiter simul inter ubi non est iter.* The words *ubi non est iter* belong to another word which is lost here; perhaps *avium* or *avia.*

128 14 *Obvallatum undique montes.* Read *undique munitum.*

128 18 *Obre fine regionum vel optio.* Read *orae fines regionum; optio* [*electio, potestas*]; the latter from Gloss. Sang. p. 265 19 of this volume.

128 27 *Obmoveto promovito dant.* Read *promoveto, dato.*

128 28 *Obmonuit aperuit.* Possibly *obmuniit operuit:* or should we read *ommentat opperitur?* Placidus p. 73 Deuerling *ommentat expectat;* comp. Festus p. 190 s. v. *ommentans.*

128 31 *Obsita obsecta vel circumdata.* Read *obsaepta.*

128 38 *Obnixius contra post.* Perhaps *obnixus contra positus.*

128 40 *Obnixius humilissimus missus.* Perhaps *obnoxius humilissimus; obnixus nisus.*

128 44 *Obligat circummittit.* Perhaps *circumnectit.*

129 8 *Obnubit vestem circumdedit vestem.* Read *obnupsit veste, c. veste.*

129 15 *Obnoxius firmius vel intentius vel totis viribus.* Read *obnixius.*

129 21 *Obiectat rogat.* Read *obsecrat.*

129 30 *Obstructum purpura.* Read *ostrum purpuram.*

130 6 *Obssit includit.* Probably *obserit.*

130 9 *Obsoslidatus inquinatus.* Read *obsordidatus*, and add the word to the lexicons.

130 23 *Obfibulare concludere vel circumdare.* Add *obfibulare* to the lexicons.

130 49 *Obscenans ore sevas id est male canentes.* Read *obscenas aves, scaevas, i. e. m. c.* Servius Aen. 3 241 on *obscenas aves; obscenae sunt aves quae canendo adversa significant.*

131 40 *Oerias ad divinitate.* Perhaps *θειότητα divinitatem.*

132 1 *Offibebant claudebant asseris.* For *offibebant a* gives *officiebant:* but *offibulabant* is also possible.

132 3 *Offendis nodus proprias quo apex flaminum restinguitur et remitur.* Read *offendix nodus proprius quo apex flaminum restringitur et remittitur* (the last word from *a*). See Festus p. 205 M.

132 16 *Oloser crini.* Probably for *holoserica (vestis):* Isid. 19 22 14 *holoserica tota serica, totum enim ὅλον.*

132 26 *Omnitens omnipotens.* Perhaps *omnituens.*

133 1 *Opsoluto clausis absolutis.* For *opsoluto a, c* and *d* give *oppersolato*, i.e. *oppessulato:* for *absolutis a* has *apersalis dictum*, and so nearly *c.* I suppose then that there were two nearly identical glosses as follows; *oppessulato clauso; oppessulatis clausis, a pessulis dictum.*

133 39 *Oraper finis.* Perhaps *ora regio, finis.*

133 44 *Oratensa praeces sanctas.* Read *orationes.*

134 8 *Origia mysteria vel nocturna cura aut initiata.* Perhaps *orgia mysteria nocturna aut initia; orgyia alma* (for

cura); Placidus p. 71 Deuerling *orgia item mensura quae Latine dicitur ulna.*

134 15 *Oramegra coturnices.* Read *ortygometrae.*

134 19 *Oratis patitis.* Read *petitis.*

134 22 *Orgon nomen siderum.* Read *Orion.*

134 27 *Orna sepulchrum.* Read *urna.*

134 30 *Ornia mysteria.* Read *orgia.*

134 32 *Origia sacra libera patris.* Read *orgia s. Liberi p.*

134 40 *Ostres odio semper habentes.* Read *osores.*

134 43 *Osanna genus est ligni.* Perhaps *osanna genus est hymni; ornus genus est ligni.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

(*To be continued.*)

CAESAR'S EXPEDITIONS TO BRITAIN.

On first approaching this subject in Vol. XVII. of the *Journal of Philology* I made apologies for treating a well-worn controversy. Mr Ridgeway has followed me in Vol. XIX. with more apologies. To come a third time to the same matter, and thereby to provoke a fourth paper from Mr Ridgeway, must therefore need decided apologies. It seems, however, that between us we may make some points certain, and if I am worsted in controversy I shall be heartily glad if only thereby some historic certainty may be established.

Briefly, in my former paper I wished to draw attention to Sir George Airy's scientific demonstration of the impossibility of a landing near Deal; to supplement his argument by pointing out the unsuitableness of the greater Stour, as it then was, for the scene of Caesar's land-battle; to shew that there was reason to suppose that the tradition of the landing at Deal was not much older than Leland's time, and sprang partly from the confused statements of early British romancers who mixed up Julius Caesar and the Emperor Claudius' generals. I wished to point out also that there was historical evidence of the former state of Romney Marsh which made it a suitable site for the landing and battle on the shore.

To get over the undoubted difficulties I tried to shew what I considered the probability of Caesar's not having used the *Portus Itius* on the occasion of his first expedition.

We agree in placing the *Portus Itius* at Wissant. Mr Ridgeway's explanation of τὸ Ἴτιον, of Strabo, as meaning the roadstead sheltered by the Itian promontory, seems to me conclusive. The Itian promontory is of course Cape Grisnez.

William of Poictiers and William of Jumièges use *Portus Itius* and Wissant respectively for the same place, writing soon after the Norman Conquest[1]. Is it not possible that the use of the name in literary language had been continuous?

Wissant I venture to think is simply *White sand*, a name given by the Saxon settlers on that side of the Channel. Such names as Ham, Werwick, Maninghen, Masinghen, Warhem, the river Slack, Sangatte, Todincthun, in its neighbourhood, are as evidently English.

The points wherein Mr Ridgeway and I differ are these two. He considers that Caesar certainly used this port on both expeditions, and that on both occasions he landed at Pevensey. I still differ, but I may say in passing that while I acknowledge the first hypothesis to be possibly true, I entirely refuse to accept the latter as possible.

With regard to No. 1. Strabo says of the Itian port; *τὸ Ἴτιον ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον· νύκτωρ δ' ἀνήχθη καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τριακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας.* IV. 5, p. 199.

Here I agree that Strabo is evidently translating the Commentaries in part of his statement. He is referring to Caesar's first expedition, when as he tells us he sailed *tertia fere vigilia*, and made the shore *hora circiter diei quarta;* but Strabo names the port of departure which Caesar does not name. Strabo says that the voyage was one of 320 stadia, that is probably 40 Roman miles. The words in the Commentaries, perhaps interpolated, say that the distance across, though not necessarily the actual passage made, was 30 Roman miles. The distance from Cape Grisnez to off Hastings is I believe 48 Roman miles, that from Cape Grisnez to the old line of shore behind Romney Marsh is about 30 Roman miles. Mr Ridgeway says justly that figures are more likely to be corrupted than words, that words are used by Strabo and figures in the Commentaries. I know nothing of the practice of early geographical MSS, but is it certain that the MS of Strabo always read

[1] *Portus Icius*, Will. of Poictiers; *Portus Wissanti*, Will. of Jumièges. Both for the port of embarkation of the Etheling Alfred in 1036.

τριακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι? The small Leipsic edition in my hand reads τ' καὶ εἴκοσι.

Eustathius in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes seems to have read τριακοσίους simply in Strabo[1]. If we once admit errors in the figures in the Commentaries it is possible that an additional X may have crept into the MS used by Strabo. But Strabo's indication of the distance is not intended to apply only to the voyage from τὸ Ἴτιον to a particular landing-place. It is in his mind the normal distance between Gaul and Britain. A little above, IV. 3, p. 193, we read διάρμα δ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν τῆς Κελτικῆς εἴκοσι καὶ τ' στάδιοι. This is so manifestly untrue, for it is nothing like the distance from any one of the rivers' mouths to Britain, and they are all differently distant, that it makes it impossible I think to insist upon Strabo's evidence about the distance sailed, whatever we may say about his identification of the port of departure.

However, putting the distance on one side at present, I agree that if Strabo accurately knew and reported all the circumstances, then Caesar did sail from the Portus Itius on his first expedition. The difficulty that then remains is how it was that he took so long as nine or ten hours to get across in favourable weather if he landed in Kent at all[2]. My answer is that Strabo is not to be trusted for certain, when any sort of difficulty stands in the way. His geographical knowledge of Gaul was far from exhaustive. He had never been there in person, and his conceptions were often very wrong. For instance in the context to the very passage quoted above he

[1] Καῖσαρ..... νύκτωρ ἀνήχθη καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τριακοσίους σταδίους διάπλου τελέσας. *Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes*, v. 566. This is plainly a quotation from Strabo. Eustathius either read τριακοσίους in Strabo, or seeing XXX in the Commentaries cut out the καὶ εἴκοσι to make them agree, counting 10 stadia to a mile.

[2] The time is slow, but if there was no wind not incredibly slow, I am now disposed to think, for a voyage from Boulogne. The cases of small boats rowing across, which I quoted before, prove the possibility of rowing over, but the pace in their case is of course rather greater than that of a ship of burden in no wind. But I suppose that *idonea ad navigandum tempestas* implies a favourable wind.

says: "There are four lines of passage which people use crossing from the continent into Britain.....from the Rhine, from the Seine, from the Loire, from the Garonne".....*τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορινῶν κ.τ.λ.* To put it in other words; "There is a passage from the mouth of the Rhine, but those who cross from the places about the mouth of the Rhine do not cross from the very mouth of the river but from another country about 120 miles off!" This is allowing the mouth of the Maas to stand for the mouth of the Rhine, the mouth of the Rhine is really nearer 150 miles from the Itian port than 120. The mouth of the Seine is nearer in a straight line. Or again, above we read: *πρόκειται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Βρεττανικὴ, τοῦ μὲν Ῥήνου καὶ ἐγγύθεν, ὥστε καθορᾶσθαι τὸ Κάντιον.* Kent, he thinks, can be seen from near the mouth of the Rhine! The credibility of a witness recommends itself differently to different minds, but I confess that Strabo's knowledge of the Channel shores does not enable me to put extreme confidence in anything he says about them. He knows of the existence of the Portus Itius, and of no other port in the neighbourhood, though many existed, and so starts an expedition from it, which may or may not have sailed from it in reality. I suspect that, like other people since, he drew a conclusion from the Commentaries which is not certainly warranted by their language. He is not incapable of misunderstanding the Commentaries. Speaking of Caesar's war with the Veneti, he says that *ἁλύσεις δ' ἔτεινον ἀντὶ κάλων*, IV. 4, where *ἀντὶ κάλων* surely means "*for the standing tackle.*" The parallel passage in the Commentaries is "*anchorae pro funibus catenis ferreis revinctae.*" III. 13.

Strabo further tells us that the Veneti fought against Caesar, being ready to stop his voyage to Britain. This may be true; but the war with the Veneti was rather more than a year before the first expedition to Britain, and Caesar drops no hint of any design to attack Britain till afterwards, though he mentions the British trade of the Veneti; but alleges other reasons for the war. He says however that one of his reasons for attacking the Britons was that they helped the Gauls. I

may be too captious, but it seems to me that Strabo has got just that partial historical knowledge, and those extensive geographical misconceptions, which render him not very trustworthy on a point of detail.

Be that as it may, supposing that Caesar did use the Itian port on both occasions, I would suppose that he was unaccountably delayed on his first voyage, that his ships took some time in getting to sea, and that the foremost waited till the last were well under weigh, or that some other cause detained them, rather than believe that he sailed from beyond Cape Grisnez to Hastings and Pevensey. He tells us, IV. 21, that he marched into the country of the Morini *quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transiectus*. As I said in my former paper, it is surely doing violence to this language to explain it otherwise than meaning that he crossed somewhere about the narrowest part of the Channel. To suppose that he came into the country of the Morini because the shortest passage was thence, and that then he deliberately adopted a passage more than half as long again, seems scarcely reasonable. This longer voyage would have carried him past a possible landing-place, and in its latter part would have been performed against the flood-tide. It would have landed him opposite the great Wealden forest, where resistance would be easy and supplies scarce. William the Conqueror landed at this point; but from the Somme, whence he started, the distance to Pevensey is not much greater than to near Hythe, and at the latter place was certainly a hostile town capable of resistance, Romney, and perhaps an English fleet[1]. Dion Cassius is a later authority than Strabo, but so far as I know he says nothing demonstrably absurd about the history or geography of the invasion, and he tells us that between Caesar's first place of observation of the shore and his landing-place he doubled *ἄκραν τινὰ προέχουσαν*. There never was a promontory between Hastings and Pevensey, there was and is one between East Wear bay and Hythe.

But it is on the second expedition from the Portus Itius that the impossibility of the landing at Pevensey appears.

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III. Appendix DD.

Caesar then started *leni Africo*, which I believe means a light south-west wind. As Pevensey Bay lies half a point south of west from off Cape Grisnez, this wind was, light or strong, nearly ahead of his supposed course. If he knew the direction of north and south by the sun, no misconception of the relative positions of the two coasts of Gaul and Britain would prevent Caesar from knowing what the wind was. It may be suggested that he intended to make a straight run across Channel, and then to beat along the shore to his landing-place. It would be an awkward device, and not what he did on the first occasion, if he then first made the shore at Hastings. This wind however dropped in the night, and the flood-tide carried the fleet through the straits of Dover. I say deliberately 'through'; for unless he were east of the longitude of Dover at sunrise he could not have seen *Britanniam sub sinistra relictam*. Even from a ship deliberately heading north-eastwards, a course here out of the question, Britain could hardly be so described so long as the South Foreland was over the port bow.

From the position reached through this drift, say from some point about 1° 30′ east long., the Roman fleet turned and by rowing reached their former landing-place rather before midday, *meridiano fere tempore*. Rowing with the tide the ships of burden were not left behind by the men of war. If that landing-place was Pevensey Bay the heavy merchant ships rowed, keeping pace with the men of war, for about 55 miles. That I believe disposes of the question; it is an impossibility. From the Admiralty observations, quoted by Sir George Airy, it appears that the pace of the tidal current in the Straits varies from $1\frac{1}{3}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour. Further down Channel, it diminishes with the breadth of the sea. A mediaeval galley was only supposed to keep the whole rowing force engaged for two hours at a stretch. That was an exceptional effort which could not be sustained[1]. The pace of an ancient galley is I believe unknown. The pace of the mediaeval galley is more easily estimated, and judging by the general improvement in navigation it is unlikely that the Venetian and Genoese gallies were slower than the ancient.

[1] Jurien de la Gravière, *Les Derniers Jours de la Marine à Rames*. Appendix, Ch. IX.

Admiral Jurien de la Gravière quotes and concurs with the following opinion: "Le célèbre ingénieur Forfait estime que la galère le mieux montée, par un calme parfait, pouvait faire quatre milles et demi ou plus pendant la première heure, deux milles et quart, ou un mille et demi, pendant quelques heures encore." *Les Derniers Jours de la Marine à Rames*, p. 79. These are maritime miles, 60 to a degree. The greatest pace therefore for the first hour is about 5 miles an hour, English measure. The work of the heavy merchant ships must have been much more laborious, and the resulting pace slow at the best. Caesar does not tell us that the ebb current served him immediately at daybreak when he observed his position to be so far away to the eastward of his point of landing, but supposing that they began to row soon after sunrise his men would make good work to bring his whole fleet together off Romney Marsh by a little before noon, their pace being that of their slowest ships. That they could reach Pevensey, and that then the soldiers, the landsmen who had been helping to row (*qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda*), could be fit for a night march and a battle, I cannot believe.

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN.

CAESAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN.

As Mr Malden has said enough in apology for this second appearance of both himself and me, I shall go at once *in medias res* and deal with the matters in controversy between us. In my former paper I dealt with two main points; (1) I contended against Mr Malden that Caesar had started from the same port on both expeditions, adducing in support a passage of Strabo (IV. 199) which he had overlooked; (2) That the τὸ Ἴτιον of Strabo is no other than the Ἴτιον ἄκρον of Ptolemy, the Cape *Grisnez* of to-day, at the back of which Caesar found a sheltered strand on which to draw up his fleet of 800 ships.

As Strabo in this same passage stated that Caesar sailed a distance of 320 stades in crossing which, according to Strabo's own avowed system of reckoning (see p. 144), is exactly 40 Roman miles; I was led to ask was it worth while, when we now know with some certainty the point of departure, to enquire which of three points on the English coast which scholars are pretty well agreed must be the only rivals for the honour of being Caesar's landing place, is roughly about 40 Roman miles from Grisnez. I called it a "confessedly rude criterion," but at the same time I thought it was on the whole better to obey Plato and follow where the argument led.

The three claimants are (1) Dover (and Deal), 20 miles from Grisnez, (2) Folkestone (with landing place at Romney Marsh), 22 miles from Grisnez, and (3) Hastings (with William the Conqueror's landing place at Pevensey), 42 (or 48 says Mr Malden) miles from Grisnez.

As both Mr Malden and I agreed in regarding Sir George Airy's arguments from the tide as fatal to the claims of Dover and Deal, the question lies between Romney Marsh and Pevensey. I maintained that Sir G. Airy's argument that it is incredible

that Caesar's swiftest ships under favourable circumstances took between 9 and 10 hours to reach Dover from Grisnez, a distance of 20 miles, was equally fatal to the claim of Folkestone, only some 2 miles further; I added that it was at least plain from Strabo that the ancients considered their ships ought to make $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. Hence I concluded that the literary *data* were on the whole in favour of Hastings and Pevensey.

As regards my three contentions, Mr Malden agrees completely with my identification of the Itian *promontory* with *Grisnez:* (2) he still maintains but with hesitation his view that Caesar started from two distinct ports on his two expeditions, and (3) regards it as utterly impossible that Caesar could have landed at Pevensey.

I shall now proceed to deal with his defence of his view that there were two different ports of embarkation. Mr Malden has a difficult task when he has to overthrow a distinct statement in a writer not only of acknowledged authority, but who was alive at the very time that the events which he narrates took place. He omits to mention that Strabo was probably living at Rome in the lifetime of Julius Caesar. At all events he was the pupil of Tyrannio, the grammarian (the tutor of Cicero's son), who died in 46 B.C. Of course in Mr Malden's position nothing else was open to him save to make a recantation or impugn Strabo's veracity. He has adopted the latter course.

To save the reader's time and to ensure that I omit no point, it will be best to rehearse summarily Mr Malden's charges against Strabo. He charges him (1) with gross geographical ignorance in stating that those who put out (to Britain) from the parts about the Rhine (not *from the places* about *the mouth of the Rhine*, as Mr Malden gives it, slipping in the word *mouth;* for the Greek is simply *ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων*) do not make the voyage by putting out from the very mouth of the Rhine, but from the Morini, who are the neighbours of the Menapii.

(2) For his ignorance in saying that Cantium could be seen from the Rhine.

(3) That he knows of the existence of the Portus Itius and of no other port in its neighbourhood though many existed, and so he starts an expedition from it, which may or may not have started from it in reality.

(4) That he mistranslates Caesar's Latin, and

(5) That he has the audacity to tell us something about the war with the Veneti, of which Caesar drops no hint.

First I deal with the general question whether geographical blunders are to damn an historian's credibility. If they are, then roughly speaking all ancient history goes. Caesar had been twice in Britain, and yet he says that Britain is a three-cornered island, one of whose sides faces the north, which side is 800 miles long, and that the distance between Britain and Ireland is the same as that between Gaul and Britain (v. 13). But as Mr Malden treats Caesar's statements with as little respect as those of Strabo, when he gets into a state of desperation on his last page, let us turn to Dio Cassius who, although some three hundred years after Caesar, and 250 after Strabo, is Mr Malden's especial reliance. When Mr Malden wrote of Dio that he says nothing demonstrably absurd about the history or geography of the invasion, he must have overlooked the fact that Dio, although writing at a time when the Romans had been for two centuries the masters of Britain, makes the statement that the distance across the Strait of Dover in its very narrowest point is 450 stades, or a little more than 51 English miles, and that Dio also makes Britain extend along 'the rest of Gaul and almost all Spain' (XXXIX. 50).

Such instances could easily be multiplied; but I have said enough to demonstrate the futility of any attack upon a writer of authority based merely on such grounds as these. Strabo is wrong about the distance from the Rhine to Cantium; but, as I have indicated above, a good defence can be made for his statement respecting those sailing to Britain from the parts about the Rhine. He is referring to the great trade routes which followed the courses of the great rivers; of these a very important one passed right from Marseilles into Switzerland and down the Rhine and from it into Britain. Mr Arthur

Evans has recently shown reasons for believing that certain vessels of Greek workmanship found in Kent may have found their way by this very route.

Coming to objection No. 3, it is evident that Mr Malden has paid no heed to Strabo's words *παρ' οἷς καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον*, where the *καὶ* shows plainly, as Dr Guest, Groskurd and other scholars saw, that Strabo had in his mind Gesoriacum (Boulogne), the regular port for crossing to Britain, or other such ports, the words meaning in whose territory there is the Itian Headland, which Caesar used as his naval station, as well as the ordinary port.

Next comes the charge of Strabo's mistranslation of Caesar's description of the ships of the Veneti (III. 13).

Mr Malden says *ἀντὶ κάλων* must mean *for the standing tackle*. The necessity of this I cannot see, as *κάλως* is regularly used in Classical Greek to express a cable for mooring the ship, as can be seen by a glance at Stephanus' Thesaurus, or Liddell and Scott. But even if Strabo's account differed materially in this respect from that of Caesar, it would only point to his having used some authority beside the Commentaries. For I would ask Mr Malden to point out any passage in Caesar which can in any way have served as the basis of Strabo's description of the method of caulking the ships (p. 195): *οὐ συνάγουσι τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ' ἀραιώματα καταλείπουσι. ταῦτα δὲ βρύοις διανάττουσι τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰς νεωλκίας καπυροῦσθαι τὴν ὕλην μὴ νοτιζομένην, τοῦ μὲν βρύου νοτιωτέρου ὄντος κ.τ.λ.*

(5) Finally Strabo has committed the unpardonable sin of giving us an important bit of history, although Caesar drops no hint of any intention to attack Britain till after his account of the war with the Veneti. This assumes that Caesar is always complete and explicit in his statements. If this assumption was true we would not now be wrangling over the question whether he sailed from the Portus Itius on both occasions or only on the second voyage. But furthermore Mr Malden has tacitly assumed that Strabo had no other means of information about Gaul and Britain save that afforded by the Commentaries. Now Strabo was born about 63 B.C. and died

about 21 A.D., having lived at Rome the chief part of his life. There must have been many men at Rome, when he was already a well-grown man, who had served with Caesar in Gaul and Britain. Caesar's first expedition to Britain had, according to Dio Cassius (XXXIX. 54), produced a profound impression at Rome, and a thanksgiving of 20 days was decreed. Mens' imaginations were excited by the story of how Caesar had crossed the dreaded ocean and landed on an almost unknown region. Doubtless there were many with Caesar like Quintus Cicero, capable of writing home to their kinsfolk an account of the exploit in which they took a part. Strabo would thus have access to many sources of information about the expedition; as it was the *first* expedition which was regarded as all-important, he is not likely to have blundered about the port of embarkation. Besides there are evident traces of careful personal enquiries into the state of Britain at a later period. Thus we owe to Strabo almost everything we know about Britain between Caesar's invasions and the time of Claudius. It is he who tells us of the non-payment by the Britons of the tribute exacted by Caesar, and their submitting to pay import and export duties on commodities sent from or to Gaul, and the nature of these wares; the embassies of certain British potentates to Augustus, and their dedications in the Capitol, a statement confirmed by the Monumentum Ancyranum; and finally the description of the Ancient Britons whom he himself saw at Rome (200, 201).

I venture to think that the reader who considers these matters will not hesitate to side with Strabo against Mr Malden's theory of two ports of embarkation.

This is now the place to deal with Mr Malden's method of textual criticism. Strabo says that Caesar sailed 320 stades, that is, according to his own reckoning, 40 Roman miles. Suspicion must be thrown, if possible, on this statement. Mr Malden uses some Leipzic edition which saves space by printing symbols for numerals, and he accordingly asks are we sure of the reading, when by a glance at a critical edition he could have found that there is no variant in the MSS. But this is not enough: he quotes from Eustathius, that excellent and

learned bishop of Thessalonica in the 12th century A.D., to show that he found only *τριακοσίους* in the text of Strabo. But even granting that Eustathius is quoting from Strabo, it is not at all certain that he is quoting first hand, and nothing is more probable than that for ordinary purposes people would simply use the round number of 300 instead of 320. Mr Malden talks of miles of 10 stades, but I cannot find that such a method of reckoning ever existed. Mr Malden thinks that a fourth X may have slipped into the text of Caesar which Strabo used. That after putting such faith in the reading of Eustathius, who lived 1100 years after Strabo, he should be so sceptical about the right reading in what must have been one of the original copies of the Commentaries, is surely a little strange. The fact however remains that in certain MSS. of Caesar XL is read; whilst we know that there was every temptation to reduce the amount, as the general idea was that Caesar meant to describe the shortest distance across the Straits of Dover. It is to this that we doubtless owe the reading XXVIII given in some MSS. But while Mr Malden is so ready to find out variants in certain places, when he comes to deal with the passage which describes the passage from the rivers of Gaul to Britain as being 320 stades, he has no questionings as to the reading. Here, if he had consulted a critical edition, he would have found two variants in the numeral indicating that the text is not sound. As Strabo makes the voyage last from evening until 2 o'clock on the following day, it is plain that we have no clumsy replica of Caesar's voyage which began at midnight and ended at 10 o'clock, that is, occupying only half the time of that from the rivers.

With the question of Caesar's landing place I dealt but in the most tentative fashion in my previous paper. I now approach it more boldly since I see that the position of Hastings and Pevensey is so much stronger than I imagined. Mr Malden himself does not declare Pevensey to be an impossible landing place on the first voyage, but contents himself with three objections.

(1) Because Caesar went into the land of the Morini *quod inde in Britanniam brevissimus transiectus erat*, he says Caesar

must have "crossed somewhere about the narrowest part of the Channel." But if Caesar on coming into the land of the Morini found, as Dio Cassius says, that all the landing places opposite the continent were held by the Britons, by which he evidently means the landing places on the narrow part of the Channel, would Caesar obstinately persist in crossing at the narrowest spot, or like a wise general seek for a more suitable, although more distant landing place? This is completely borne out by the fact that he describes this passage in the following expedition not as *brevissimus* but as *commodissimus* (v. 2).

(2) "This long voyage would have brought him past a possible landing place (at Romney Marsh)." My answer is that Romney Marsh was, like Deal, one of the landing places opposite the continent occupied in force by the Britons; hence his avoidance of it.

(3) "In its later part it would have been performed against the flood tide." This Caesar met by coming to anchor, waiting till the tide turned at 2.30 p.m., and dropping down the remaining 7 miles to his landing place.

(4) "It would have landed him opposite the Great Wealden forest." Unfortunately for Caesar and Mr Malden this was precisely what did occur. For Caesar's chief difficulties, as described in v. 9, were caused by his having to fight the enemy in the forests. *repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nancti egregie et natura et opere munitum...nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant* cett.

Such then are all the objections which can be raised to making Pevensey the landing place in the first expedition. The reader must judge of their cogency. But it is the second expedition, says Mr Malden, which demonstrates the impossibility of Pevensey being the scene of Caesar's landing. By his calculation from the point 1° 30 E. long. from which Caesar began to work down Channel after the night drift to Pevensey is 55 miles. If I take his figures and allow all his assumptions, and yet can show that this distance was not impossible, I shall have made out a good case for Pevensey, and if I can then show that Mr Malden's figures

are possibly excessive by some dozen miles, I shall have made a still better case. The mere length of a voyage is not so serious provided one has sufficient time to do it. I observe that Mr Malden has completely avoided the question of the time occupied in the second voyage. At sunrise Caesar saw *Britanniam sub sinistra relictam*, and then turning rowed hard with the tide down Channel. At what hour did the dawn break? If we put the date of Caesar's voyage about the middle of July, we shall not be wide of the mark. At all events it may be boldly stated that it fell within a month of the summer solstice. We may then take 3 A.M. as the beginning of well-advanced daylight (*orta luce*). Caesar reaches his destination about noon. The voyage thus lasted nine hours. His men performed an extraordinary feat of rowing according to his own account, and for six hours had the tide with them. An average speed of six miles an hour is sufficient to accomplish the distance. The tide was running at the rate of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour in the narrow part of the Channel. From certain considerations we shall find presently that this pace is not impossible.

I shall now examine Mr Malden's way of getting his 55 miles. Of this distance seven miles are obtained by assuming that Caesar reached the exact spot seven Roman miles beyond the high cliffs where he landed on his first voyage. But this is far from being Caesar's statement, for his words simply are *accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus nauibus meridiano fere tempore*, where *accessum est* seems to mean nothing more than what he expressed by the words Britanniam *attigit* in the story of the former voyage. But he did not land at all at the place where he Britanniam *attigit*, but dropped down with the tide seven miles further. Moreover Caesar does not say that he made for the very spot where he had landed before, but simply that *contendit remis ut eam partem insulae caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognouerat*. The high cliffs formed his landmark. Thus we may with good reason remove seven miles from the distance, thus leaving 48 Roman or a little more than 45 English miles to be done in nine hours. An average speed of five English miles an hour, the tide being with him for full six hours, will be amply sufficient. But Mr

Malden assumes that the result of Caesar's night voyage and subsequent drift was simply to leave him as far distant from his goal as when he started. Caesar started at sunset (*ad solis occasum*): as he is likely to have aimed at getting clear of harbour before darkness came on, we are justified in assuming that he started about 8 p.m. He evidently could make considerable progress as he was *leni Africo prouectus*. Mr Malden thinks he would not try to sail across Channel, and then coast along, because he did not do so on the former occasion. But surely different conditions call for different tactics: he had weather and wind that suited him exactly on the first voyage whereas he has a south-west wind to deal with on his second venture. "As Pevensey Bay (says Mr Malden) lies half a point south of west from off Cape Grisnez this wind was nearly ahead of his supposed course." Since Caesar made headway, he evidently sailed not direct for Pevensey, but rather across Channel. With the wind over the quarter the Roman ships would make fair sailing. They hold on their course for about four hours until the wind falls at midnight. Allowing three miles an hour as their average, taking into consideration that they had the tide against them for a considerable part of the time, they would have made 12 miles before the calm came. Then comes the drift: as the current runs from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in the narrow part of the Channel, if we allow two miles an hour for the rate of drifting, this will give six miles for the three hours from midnight to 3 a.m., when Caesar saw *Britanniam sub sinistra relictam*. This is a vital point with Mr Malden, who maintains that these words mean that Caesar had got past the South Foreland, or else he could not have spoken of Britain as left behind. This would have force if Caesar had been going straight down Channel, but if, as the evidence rather indicates, he had attempted to sail across, then he might well use the word *relictam* when, instead of finding himself close to the shore of Britain, he discovered that between the course he had sailed, and the way he had drifted, he had moved away from Britain. If this be so he had made a net gain of six miles before he commenced rowing at 3 a.m. This would leave only 39 English miles to be performed in nine

hours. In fact not quite so much as he had to do in from nine to ten hours on his first voyage which Mr Malden does not think impossible.

Mr Malden has told us that mediaeval galleys could row 5 English miles in an hour but could not keep it up. Hence he thinks it impossible that "the heavy merchantmen" in Caesar's fleet could have rowed at the necessary pace so great a distance. Let us see what were those "heavy merchantmen" on whose slowness he sets such importance. On looking at v. 1 we find that so far from these ships being heavy merchantmen they were constructed specially for this expedition: *ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque paulo fecit humiliores quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus.* All were specially built for rowing (*has omnes actuarias imperat fieri*). Dio Cassius (XL. 1) gives a still fuller account. *τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίδων, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα καὶ κουφίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κῦμα ἀντέχωσι κ.τ.λ.* Now the soldiers who formed the rowers of these ships are not to be compared with the wretched, half-starved slaves, chained to their benches, who formed the crew of a mediaeval galley. The Roman ships were filled with soldiers, who could relieve one another, so that the pace of the rowing never flagged (*non intermisso remigandi labore*). For full six hours they had the tide with them, so that it is perfectly possible that they averaged 6 miles an hour. It was evidently an extraordinary feat, for Caesar says, *qua in re admodum fuit militum uirtus laudanda qui uectoriis grauibusque nauigiis non intermisso remigandi labore longarum nauium cursum adaequarunt.*

I submit then that it was perfectly possible for Caesar to reach Pevensey Bay on his second voyage. But what about Romney Marsh? Sir George Airy's time argument supported by my distance argument from Strabo and Caesar is fatal to its claims. On the first expedition Caesar must have taken from 9 to 10 hours in favourable weather to sail 22 miles. On the second occasion, granting even that the eastward drift carried him back through the straits, it took him some 9 hours with the most extraordinary efforts on the part of his men to make 30, or if we regard the *accessum est* as simply

applying to the cliffs, 22 miles. Mr Malden has no explanation to give of the slowness of the first voyage except some unaccountable delay! But it is when he comes to the second voyage that he is reduced to the last act of desperation. He had already condemned Strabo as unworthy of belief; imperial Caesar now himself must go. He says "supposing they began to row soon after sunrise his men would make good work to bring his whole fleet together off Romney Marsh by a little before noon, *their pace being that of the slowest ships*" (the italics are mine). A case must be indeed desperate when in the face of Caesar's direct statement given above that the pace of the transports was made equal to the fast ships, Mr Malden has deliberately to assume that the converse was the case.

To sum up:—as regards the question of Strabo's veracity, I venture to think that I have given a sufficient defence: if so, my original position against Mr Malden's theory of two ports of embarkation is proved.

As regards the question between Pevensey Bay and Romney Marsh, my position now is that whilst in my former paper I only applied "a confessedly rude criterion" to test the claims of each, I now think the balance of probabilities shows that Romney Marsh cannot have been the scene of Caesar's landing, and that Pevensey Bay is not only a possible landing place, but stands at present as the strongest claimant. At the same time I do not hesitate to say that, from the nature of our data, it would be highly unscientific to affirm positively that any particular place is the scene of Caesar's landing.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

THE AUGMENT IN HOMER.

I. *Authority of the MSS.* Whatever weight anyone may be inclined to lay on the MSS. of Homer he will scarcely put much faith in their treatment of the augment: the nature of the case would neither lead us to expect accuracy nor do observed facts point to it. False insertion of the augment, as might be supposed, is the more common. This is shewn in many ways. (1) In many lines the MSS. give the augment where Aristarchus rejected it, e.g. A. 162: *ὦ ἔπι πολλὰ μόγησα.* "*ἰακῶς τὸ ἐμόγησα αἱ* 'Αριστάρχου Didymus: libri *πόλλ' ἐμόγησα.*" (2) In many instances the augment is given so as to spoil the weak caesura in the third foot which is the proper rhythm; see instances at the end of this paper. (3) In two lines no caesura is left at all owing to the same cause; see again *ad fin.* (4) In duals, especially of compound verbs, the augment is omitted, observes La Roche on Ψ. 418. Yet in this line Aristarchus, of course on MS. authority, gave *ἐπεδραμέτην*, as does D; so he did in K. 354 with C and Eustathius; in Φ. 298 we must correct *all* the MSS. to *ἀποβήτην*. The temporal augment also is in the same case; see La Roche on P. 530, where Wolf restored *ὁρμηθήτην* from two MSS. "Excipiuntur *ἠθελέτην* K. 228, P. 433, *ἠθέλετον* Λ. 782," which three are due to metrical demands, "*ὠρχείσθην* θ. 378, quod cum cod. Q *ὀρχείσθην* scribi oportet[1]." In E. 12 nine MSS. are wrong. (All references under this head I owe to La Roche.) (5) The augment is not used with iterative forms (Monro, *H. G.* § 69). "The only clear instance is *ἐμισγέσκοντο*," *v.* 7. But

[1] Compare however Ludwich's *apparatus* on this last. And La Roche's AI have *ὀρχήσθην*.

the MSS. add it sometimes, as παρέβασκε, Λ. 104, παρεκέσκετο, ξ. 521. (6) Ordinary compounds almost invariably have the augment in our MSS., as the scansion would almost invariably be unaffected; can we suppose that they were so specially liable to it in the mouth of the poets themselves? (7) Certain purely epic words never take the augment. Why not? Because they never took it in the Homeric period, and not being used in later times they were not familiar when decked out with the augment, as ordinary verbs were. This oddness prevented the MSS. from giving such forms as ἤνυτο[1]. But if such words have only been preserved from the augment because they were purely epic, how many others may there not be which would have no augment in Homer if it were not for later influence? (8) The augment has been occasionally introduced before a mute and liquid, where it has to scan as a short syllable, which is absurd. See note B. (9) The digamma often shews the same influence at work, as ἤνδανε for ϜάνδανεFε, ἤδει for ϜείδειFε etc. To say nothing of such monstrosities as ἐήνδανε.

On the other hand, as will appear in the sequel, the augment has sometimes been wrongly *dropped*, a much more curious thing.

We may then safely assert that the augment has been largely added in the Homeric poems, and that in this respect the MSS. may be treated with some freedom. Yet even here it is dangerous to go to work rashly. Some curious regulations of the use of the augment have been incidentally noticed already; some more will be presently forthcoming.

It is a remarkable thing that not in one single instance, so far as I know, has a weak caesura in the fourth foot been introduced by a false augment, and yet this might have happened on every page. Did the actual transcribers of our MSS. know this rule? Not they; the idea would be ridiculous. Our MSS. were written by people who copied blindly what they saw before them and copied it generally right. The invasion of the augment then dates from a very ancient time,

[1] ἄνυτο may of course be itself augmented, as ἄεσα is the augmented form of ἄεσα. But my point is that in such words the MSS. did not substitute the familiar augment.

from days before Aristarchus. For he himself, as we have seen, was awake to the question, and did something to keep the intruder out. Very strongly do I suspect that the evil began when the poems were yet oral and that when they were first written down the augment was already in possession to a much larger extent than it should have been.

II. *The Received View.* It is always tacitly or expressly assumed that the augmented was the ordinary form at the time when the Homeric poems were composed, and that the augment is "omitted" in Homer to suit the verse, such omission being archaic, just as it is in Apollonius or Lycophron. Aristarchus however appears to have held a different opinion and to have thought that the "omission" of the augment was the more Homeric usage, that Homer preferred to "omit" it.

Now the augment, both syllabic and temporal, is no original feature of the past tense. The question is: at what time did the augment become fixt? Was it fixt already in Homer's time? If it was *not*, if the regular aorist was λαβόν—at least as regularly as ἔλαβον and perhaps even more so—it follows that we are wrong in speaking of "omission" of the augment in Homer, and that we should speak rather of its "addition" in him.

On the received view what are we to make of the facts noticed already? Why do duals have no augment except where the verse demands it? Why do *αἴνυμαι*, *οἰμάω*, etc. have no augment? Why above all is not the augment always given when the verse allows it? especially as the tendency in later times was to put it in.

If on the contrary the augment was not yet fixt in ordinary speech, and the unaugmented form was a living one as much as the other, we can understand these things. The duals have none because they are comparatively rare and antiquated forms, as everybody knows duals of all kinds to be. Consequently they have clung to the original form and not admitted the innovation. The same explains *οἰμάω* and others like it, old epic words and so uncorrupted by new fashions. Frequentative forms are not helped by either hypothesis as yet, for we can hardly consider them as antiquated. But if the augment had

been regular in Homeric times, we should not expect to find *any* kind of word excepted; there are none such in Attic. The evidence then points to this conclusion; that in Homeric times the augment was fighting its way in and was not yet fully established. Perhaps in ordinary cases it was not added except where the verse required it; if then any sweeping change were to be made at all, it should be in the direction of turning the augment out of our texts, not putting it in.

Herodotus, it will be remembered, does not add the augment to such words as ὁρμάω. Is it not more likely that this is because such words *never* had gained an augment, than that he chose to "omit" one which had been gained and was now let slip again? Is it not most probable then that Homer did not augment such words either? Aristarchus appears to have held this view, whether because of the later Ionic practice or because of MSS. we cannot unfortunately determine. Indeed I should not be unwilling to agree to the proposition that the temporal augment ought *never* to be written in Homer except where demanded by verse; this rule certainly holds with the duals, and probably with words beginning in εὐ or εὑ, or ο, so far as can be gathered from the MSS. and the ancient critics.

It may be justly answered that the temporal is a later development than the syllabic augment, that even granting the temporal augment to have been exceptional in Homeric times it does not follow that the syllabic was not a fixed and regular feature of the language already. How then is one to shew that the syllabic augment was not yet fixt in usage (apart from poetic license)? I think it will be conceded that this is proved if I can shew any distinct difference in use between the augmented and unaugmented forms, and with the aorist this can be shewn. An analogy will make my meaning clearer. If nothing were known of Chaucer's use of the *e mute*, if it were supposed that he used *smal* and *smale* indifferently, it might be thought that *smale* was an archaism or poetic license and was no part of the spoken language of his time, as is supposed with Homer's unaugmented verbs. If it were then pointed out

that *smale* is the plural of *smal*[1], the old view would have to be at once abandoned, and if his use were confused, if he used *smale* sometimes for the singular and *smal* for the plural, and yet traces enough remained for us to see how they were originally distinguished, if the plural were *smale* three times to *smal* once, we should still not hesitate to say that the two were not used indifferently, that *smale* was no mere archaism or poetic license, but only that the distinction was being gradually broken down at the time when he was writing. We should no longer speak of Chaucer's omitting a feature of the language which was fixed in the ordinary conversational idiom.

I shall try to shew that Homer does use the augmented aorist in one sense in this proportion of three to one, and in another sense, the gnomic, in a much higher proportion. And that being so, I cannot see how Homer can any longer be said to "omit" the augment in *other* senses of the aorist; he must be accused of "adding" it unlawfully in these senses. Or rather we must say that the distinction was being broken down at the time the poems were composed.

Another received view which we shall find good reason to doubt is that the augment is purely a sign of past time. It is admitted apparently that the augment, ἔ, was originally an interjection which was afterwards amalgamated with the verb-form it emphasizes. There were then two forms of aorist, imperfect, pluperfect, e.g. λαβὸν and ἔ λαβὸν becoming ἔλαβον. What did λαβόν mean? was it not a tense of past time? It certainly cannot have referred to present or future. It must be understood then, so far as I can see, that when the augment is called a sign of past time, it is only meant that the augment is not taken except by tenses referring to past time. Even then it must be further limited to the indicative; in the oldest Greek we find tenses of other moods used of past time without augment, e.g. aorist infinitive after μέλλω etc., aorist subjunctive after ἔπει κεν etc., aorist optative with κεν. Yet

[1] This is of course no complete statement of Chaucer's use, but will serve as an illustration, and all the better as it would still leave Chaucer's use in some confusion.

again even in the indicative the perfect is unaugmented though it can hardly be said to have no connexion with past time.

If the augment were consciously used as such a sign, when should we expect above all to meet with it? Surely it would be where it was particularly advisable to make the past sense clear that it might not be confused with another sense. It is certain that this is not so in Homer.

What is known is this. In the oldest Sanskrit and Greek the augment goes with certain tenses of the indicative, but is liable to omission. In classical Sanskrit and Greek it goes with the same tenses and is never omitted. It is known then that both languages independently went through the same change so far, and it may be presumed that at the time of their separation the augment could be added or not at pleasure with those tenses.

It is supposed, as Mr Monro writes me, "that originally there were two distinct forms *with different meaning*, as different perhaps as τότε and τότε δή." This distinction must have begun in the period when Greek, Sanskrit, Iranian and Armenian were not yet separated. What the distinction was is absolutely unknown. The augment, then a separate interjection or particle of emphasis, was used with certain tenses of the indicative, and with no other mood. Why is absolutely unknown. These tenses are mostly past in sense, but they must have been equally past, so far as I can see, without any augment. If λάμβανον was past, (and what else could it be?) how could the augment make it any more past? Or will any one suggest that λάμβανον means "I was taking yesterday" and ἐλάμβανον "I was taking last week"? And the aorist in Vedic Sanskrit is not strictly past, for it may always be translated by our perfect. (Whitney.) We know then nothing really about the use of the augment at the starting point of Sanskrit and Greek, except that it was only used with certain tenses of the indicative, and presumably with some distinction of sense, which can hardly have consisted in emphasizing past time.

In the Vedas and in Homer the augment may be "omitted." It was not yet then fixed in either language, as far as the evidence shews, and the burden of proof rests with those who

say that it was. Nor does the Homeric usage shew that it was regarded by him as a sign of past time; it shews just the opposite.

In "classical" Greek and Sanskrit the augment became fixt. It is still used with the same tenses, and they do refer to past time. But is this due to the augment? No, it is due to the tense itself, as is shewn by the unaugmented tenses of Homer and Herodotus, and for that matter by every Aryan language which possesses no augment. Of the two forms *λάμβανον* and *ἐλάμβανον*, with different meanings, the latter has ousted the former, and the difference in meaning has gone. No doubt the difference in meaning went first.

It may be said that it is hard to see how Greek and Sanskrit could independently go through the same stage, to say nothing of Iranian, which may have done the same for all I know. But the evidence of their literature is that they did. Nor is it unnatural that the more emphatic use should oust the less, in one language or in twenty. If they all started with two forms, one more emphatic (and *ἔ* is allowed to be a particle of emphasis) than the other, the same cause would work in all and produce the same result. So has the emphatic *ecastor* destroyed *castor* as an exclamation in Latin, *ἐκεῖνος* has supplanted *κεῖνος* in Greek[1].

III. *The Gnomic Aorist.*

I have spoken of "ordinary" uses of the past tense, in which the augment was probably more commonly not added. There are certain special uses in which it was.

First, the gnomic aorist. The general rule is that *the gnomic aorist in old Epic poetry takes the augment.* Exceptions are so few as to be practically non-existent. By gnomic aorist I here intend all aorists in similes as well as in strictly gnomic passages.

Works and Days. Augmented forms, 22; an apparent exception is:

[1] Voss has shewn that *κεῖνος* is correct if the preceding word be more important, in other words, that *ἐκεῖνος* is correct if itself the emphatic word.

705. *εὖει ἄτερ δαλοῦ καὶ ὠμῷ γήραϊ δῶκεν.*

Read *γήρα᾽ ἔδωκεν.*

The only real exceptions are to be found in 345 and 741.

Theogony. Augmented forms, 9; apparent exceptions, 3.

447. *ἐξ ὀλίγων βριάει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν.*

So printed in Teubner edition; for the end of it read of course *μείον᾽ ἔθηκεν.*

917. *ἐννέα, τῇσιν ἄδον θαλίαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς.*
926. *πότνιαν, ᾗ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.*

Read *τῇσ᾽ ἔϝαδον* and *κέλαδοί τ᾽ ἔϝαδον*? But it might be safer to leave them alone, for it is not quite clear that they *are* gnomic aorists at all. In any case there is *no* exception to the rule in the *Theogony.*

Shield of Heracles. Augmented forms, 7; exceptions, 0. There is no need to consider *δῶκε* in 400 as anything but a plain past tense.

Odyssey. Augmented forms, 36; apparent exceptions, 2; real exceptions, 1; compounds of *ἦκα*, 3; total, 42.

The compounds of *ἦκα* are *ἐφῆκεν* (*δ.* 339, *ρ.* 130), *ἀνῆκε* (*ξ.*. 465). These cannot be considered as exceptions until it shall be shewn that *ἦκα* can fairly be called unaugmented. It is true that there is the form *ἔηκα*, which is said to be for *ἔσηκα* from *σίσημι*, but the *σ* seems to have been dropped generally in pre-Homeric times, for his verse shews scarcely a trace of it. So that Homer can hardly have regarded *ἦκα* as unaugmented, and it is no exception. Besides I should require some proof that *ἀνέηκεν* was a form known to the poet at all. See note C.

The apparent exceptions are:

δ. 791: *ὅσσα δὲ μερμήριξε λέων ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὁμίλῳ.*
θ. 481: *οἷμας μοῦσ᾽ ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.*

In the former read *δ᾽ ἐμερμήριξε.* In the latter it would be possible to translate "has taught, has loved," but the aorists are probably gnomic. Read then: *ἐδίδαξ᾽ ἐφίλησε*; the rule about the gnomic aorist is so strong that I feel no doubt here about

neglecting the weak caesura in the third foot. At any rate La Roche was ill advised in reading *μοῦσα δίδαξεν* with no authority save a baseless hypothesis.

The real exception is χ. 386:

δικτύῳ ἐκϜέρυσαν πολυωπῷ· οἱ δέ τε πάντες,

a line which also is noticeable for two rather uncommon rhythmical peculiarities. It is easy to suggest *εἴρυσσαν*, and I could shew at least one instance of confusion of *ἐκϜέρυσεν* and *εἴρυσσεν*, but it is better to leave it alone.

It is worth observing that of the 19 places where the verse does not demand the augment, the MSS give it in 17. In only two is it dropped, and in θ. 481 it was almost bound to be so. Of the 42, 19 are in similes.

Iliad. I have not read through the *Iliad* to test the rule, though (or rather since) it was while reading it that I first became aware of it. But I have read the *Achilleid*, according to Dr Leaf, which is much better reading however far right or wrong—and I do not feel at all safe about some of the details myself, though agreeing with the main outline. In this *Achilleid* then (for the old term is the better and deserves preference by right of priority) there are 46 augmented gnomic aorists (including the spurious II. 689), two apparent exceptions and one real, and also *ἀνῆκε* in Φ. 523, *ἐφῆκεν* in Φ. 524, on which see above.

The apparent exceptions are:

O. 682: *λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν· πολέες τέ Ϝε θηήσαντο.*
P. 99: *ὅν κε θεὸς τιμᾷ, τάχα Ϝοι μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη.*

In the latter read: *πῆμ' ἐκυλίσθη*. In the former it is clear that 'F' *ἐθηήσαντο* could only become *ἑ θηήσαντο* (most MSS. and editors) or *ἐθηήσαντο* (GLS Vrat A and Florentine edition, with variations of no consequence); the true reading could not possibly be kept.

The real exception is X 140:

ῥηιδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.

As such a form as *ᾤμησε* does not exist, the poet may be excused for not using it.

The poet who added the supremely beautiful termination of the *Iliad*, Ψ. 1—257 and Ω, does not seem so particular about the rule as his predecessors. He has five augmented gnomic aorists (Ω. 48, 335, 481, 531, 616), two exceptions:

Ψ. 223: *νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανὼν δϜειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας.*

Ω. 70: *λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς.*

The former is in a simile and so comes under the head of gnomic aorists, as I have defined them. It may be urged in defence that however softly we went to work we could not get *ἠκάχησε* to scan. The other aorist *λάχομεν* is probably gnomic; it *might* be translated however "we have gained" and regarded as a perfect aorist. The same line recurs Δ. 49. Other passages in the *Iliad* with which I am acquainted as bearing on the question are:

T. 94: *βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους· κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδησε.*

So La Roche with mighty little authority, but A and most other MSS. have *γ' ἐπέδησε*, rightly.

Λ. 28: *ἐν νέφεϊ στήριξε, τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.*

Read: *ἐν νέφε' ἐστήριξε.* Such confusion is common; the true reading becomes either *νέφεϊ στήριξε* or *νέφει ἐστήριξε*. Here it became *both*, for there was a variant *νέφει ἐστήριξε* in antiquity; see La Roche.

Γ. 4: *αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον.*

Exception? *χειμῶν' ἔφυγον* does not improve the verse, and I have noticed that the augment is generally dropped after *ἐπεί*. Keep *φύγον*. Indeed, though this is in a simile, it can hardly be called a gnomic aorist at all.

Δ. 279: *ῥίγησέν τε Ϝιδὼν ὑπό τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα.*

A clear exception.

E. 770: *ὅσσον δ' ἠεροϜειδὲς ἀνὴρ Ϝίδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.*

"*εἶδεν* D. 1. man. (?) G." Perhaps *ἔϜιδ'*? It would probably be corrupted to *ἴδεν*.

Ψ. 693: *θίν' ἐν φυκιόεντι, μέλαν τέ Ϝε κῦμα κάλυψεν.*

So La Roche, again with very little authority. We must return to the old reading *κῦμ' ἐκάλυψεν*.

I. 320: *κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὅ τ' ἀϜεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὰ ϜεϜοργώς.*

κατέθανε would not scan anywhere, and the line is ejected by most editors, rightly.

It is scarcely necessary to say that late epic poets know nothing of this usage. It is true they use the augment oftener than not with gnomic aorists, because they use it oftener than not with any aorist whatever. But the rule is broken very often. Manetho, who is crammed with gnomic aorists, will afford many examples; compare further such instances as I have noted glancing at Apollonius and Quintus, of the former iii. 657, 971, of the latter iv. 553, x. 66, xii. 493, xiv. 77. But the feeling that an augment is required persisted apparently later than I should have expected. At least the only clear exceptions in the Homeric Hymns are *ἔννεπον*, meant probably for an aorist[1], in xix. 29, and *γήθησαν, παύσαντο δὲ* in xxxiii. 16. Both these hymns are shewn by their style to be very late; Abel, though on insufficient grounds, puts the former after 490. In i. 22 *Ϝάδον* is presumably gnomic; this word has troubled us before; here we might read *τ' ἔϜαδον*, or perhaps it was one of those words which had no augment at all in epic times, since *εὔαδον* may possibly be for *εὖ Ϝάδον*. The same in iv. 9, 10, 18, 21 is not certainly gnomic. On i. 5 see note E.

IV. *Perfect aorist.* By this term I mean the aorist used where we in English use a perfect. For instance *ψ*. 67, 68:

τῷ δι' ἀτασθαλίας ἔπαθον κακόν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ὤλεσε τηλοῦ νόστον Ἀχαιίδος, ὤλετο δ' αὐτός.

"Wherefore they *have* suffered an evil doom through their own infatuate deeds. But Odysseus far away *hath* lost his homeward path to the Achaean land, and himself *is* lost" Butcher and Lang.

Here we have three perfect aorists, and all three augmented. A favourable instance, it is yet the expression of a general truth, for the rule upon the whole is that *the perfect aorist takes the augment*. Figures must needs be vague when dealing with

[1] And yet this would be a strange blunder of the poet's, but I do not know what else to make of it. See further note E.

such a question, for it is impossible to draw a precise line between the perfect aorist and the ordinary aorist of past time. However I have done my best to be impartial, and whenever doubtful have been content to abide by Butcher and Lang, and I make the figures for the *Odyssey*, *α*—*ψ*, 180 augmented against 66 unaugmented perfect aorists, about 3 to 1. For *ω* they are 12 to 5. These figures do not include the perfect aorist after *εἰ*.

In the *Achilleid* the proportion is about 63 to 16, i.e. 4 to 1. Apparently the older the poet the higher the proportion. But then in Ψ. 1—257 and Ω it is highest of all, being about 25 to 5, 5 to 1[1].

The question arises: granting this, does it follow that such a proportion is any higher than may be expected from the frequency of the augment in any sense of the aorist? In narrative, according to Dr Konrad Koch quoted by Mr Monro, *Hom. Gr.* § 69, the proportion of augmented to unaugmented forms is about 5 to 7, and my observations bear this out, for I find 63 augmented to 83 unaugmented in the narrative portion of Ψ. 1—257. Here again one cannot be exact, for many words are uncertain, as *ἦλθον*, *ἦκα*, etc., nor in such an enquiry ought duals, gnomic aorists and iterative forms to be included. This however does not bear upon the perfect aorist, as that from the nature of the case is found only or practically only in speeches. Now in speeches the proportion of augmented and unaugmented forms is stated to be about 10 to 3 (*Hom. Gr. ut supra*).

For a sight of Dr Koch's almost inaccessible dissertation I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Monro. I am very sorry to make such an ungrateful return for it, but truth compels me to say the proportion of 10 to 3 is based on an oversight, due mainly to Dr Koch's unlucky way of stating his figures. He first gives a table of verbs from twelve different portions of Homer, and shews the proportion in them to be as above; so far one would suppose the twelve portions taken altogether at

[1] In these figures I include only those passages where I conceive the perfect to be necessary, omitting a still greater number where it would be admissible.

random, and Mr Monro has been misled by this. But next he proceeds to observe that *all parts of speeches which are themselves narrative* do not support him at all. "Quae cum comparārem, in hoc inter se consentire vidi, ut ab illo, qui loquitur, ibi aliquid fusius narraretur, quod minus ad eam, de qua agebatur, rem pertineret. Itaque his locis narratiuncula orationi inserta est." (*De Augmento Omisso*, page 27.)

So the first portion taken in the table is A. 1—246, where he finds 21 augmented against 3 unaugmented forms (*ibid.* page 25). On page 27 he adds that in the speech of Nestor beginning A. 254, we find ten "exempla augmenti omissi" in fourteen lines! This he ascribes to the fact that Nestor is narrating "iam prius alios heroes suo consilio usos esse." Quite rightly, but he does not really note the distinction; the simple past aorist does not demand the augment whether in the poet's narrative or in a speech, what does demand it is the perfect aorist.

Let us look at these instances in A. 1—246. In the first place Dr Koch has overstated his figures; he may be excused for including the gnomic ἔκλυον of 218 as he of course did not know that gnomic aorists are always augmented, but he appears to have included ἦλθον (207) and ἦκε (208), which he is not justified in doing; and he has apparently counted in ἔθελον in 112 as an augmented aorist! Even including these four I make the figures 19 to 5 instead of 21 to 3, but perhaps he read ἔδοσαν in 162, though I know not where he can have found it. I will give a list of the twenty, that it may be possible for anyone to check me who will.

(1) Augmented, must be translated as perfect. A. 64, 96, 108[1], 236, 244.

(2) Augmented, may be translated as perfect. A. 40, 94, 95 *bis*, 125, 152, 154, 156, 158, 178.

(3) Augmented, cannot be translated as perfect. 0.

(4) Unaugmented, may be translated as perfect. A. 39.

(5) Unaugmented, must be translated as perfect. A. 106, 108.

[1] The MSS. read οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας.

(6) Unaugmented, cannot be translated as perfect. A. 162 *bis* (?).

Opinions might differ in a few cases on the propriety of classification; in 162 the reading is doubtful, but *μόγησα* was given by Aristarchus, and some might think it *possible* to translate the two verbs there as perfects. However the general result is plain; the great majority claimed by Koch for the augment in speeches, apart from any "narratiuncula," is due to the perfect aorist, whether the position be such that we *must* or such that we only *may* translate it by a perfect in English.

It will be said: "In these twenty cases the facts can be accounted for on Dr Koch's view just as well; aorists, says he, are augmented in speeches, and an aorist in a speech can be translated as a perfect nearly always; therefore your theory is a mare's nest." I answer by quoting the speech of Nestor which follows directly after the place where Dr Koch has drawn bridle.

A. 261: *ἤ δη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέ περ ἡμῖν*
ἀνδράσιν ὡμίλησα, καὶ οὔ ποτέ μ' οἵ γ' ἀθέριζον.
οὐ γάρ πω τοίους Fίδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ Fίδωμαι...
266 *κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν·*
κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοισ' ἐμάχοντο,
φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν.
270 *τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης· καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοί.*
276 *ἀλλ' ἔα', ὥς Fοι πρῶτα δόσαν γέρας υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.*
279 *σκηπτούχος βασιλεὺς ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.*
εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι, θεὰ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ....

The imperfects are not at present to the point. But observe that of the only two augmented aorists *ἔδωκεν* is a perfect aorist (or it might be classed as gnomic) and that of the five unaugmented only one, *Fίδον*, can be claimed as perfect, and even that might be construed: "never yet did I see." Dr Koch's view is that this is due to this speech containing a "narratiuncula"; he was here within an ace of hitting on the truth.

I am aware that there is a cloud of vagueness over all this;

it is impossible to be sure of classifying the tense usages of a foreign language. Mr Wyse, whom I take this opportunity of thanking for much valuable criticism and trouble most generously bestowed, has said to me that even in German the use of perfect and aorist puzzles an Englishman[1]; how much more must we be groping in the dark when dealing with a language so much less allied to ours and with such a subtle distinction as that between two forms of an aorist. And that when the metre also is a perpetual source of perturbation. For if we could accurately gauge the precise values of λάβον and ἔλαβον, we should still find the metre interfering with the correct uses, and we are not justified in supposing that the distinction was not largely broken down by the time when Homer sang. And in addition to all in a host of instances the reading is not absolutely certain.

It will be noticed that in this use of the aorist I do acknowledge that Homer often fairly "omits" the augment. This distinction in use however between ἔλαβον = *I have taken* and λάβον = *I took*, a distinction still so clearly to be traced, is proof positive to me that Homer does not omit a regular augment when he says λάβον for *I took*, but that he is adding a comparatively new and strictly speaking incorrect augment when he uses ἔλαβον for *I took*. I do not say that it was only a poetical license; the augmented form may well have been gaining ground in everyday speech. But if the augment had been fixt in his time, and to omit it had been an archaism and poetical license, then I do say that it passes my comprehension to account for the facts given above. For if it had been fixt for all uses of the aorist, then the archaism, the poetical license, would have caused all uses of the aorist to shew about the same figures for and against the augment.

It will also be noticed that this preference for the augment has nothing to do with past time. For the only known cases in which the poets seem to have cared whether they added the augment or not are the gnomic and perfect aorists, and they are just those uses of the aorist which rather refer to *present* time. To take a good instance in ρ. 174:

[1] Compare Cope's preface to his translation of *Gorgias*, pages xv, xvi.

κοῦροι, ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντες ἐτέρφθητε φρέν' ἀέθλοις,

the augmented form is preferred because the meaning is "you *have* satisfied your hearts," which is the same as "you *are now* satisfied." Whereas the distinctly past meaning is seen in ἐπεὶ τάρφθη (τ. 213 etc.) where the augment is *not* added.

Of course anyone can say: "The scansion decided ἐτέρφθητε in preference to τέρφθητε." But that will not exactly account for the figures given above, and the gnomic aorist shews plainly enough that the Homeric poets, as indeed they had some mastery of their art, ruled their verse in the main instead of being ruled by it.

V. Εἰ *with past tense.* As εἰ with the past tense may be used in three distinct senses in Homer, it will be advisable to take them separately. (1) εἰ with aorist or very rarely imperfect (O. 724) in the sense "if I did" is not common. The augment is added or not indifferently; the instances I have noted are too few to prove anything, but the unaugmented form preponderates, i.e. the presence of εἰ, as one would expect in this sense, makes no difference. (2) εἰ with aorist or imperfect in the sense "if I had done" would be expected to take the augment. But not a bit of it; the case is just the same as before. As this is the most *past* sense of the aorist or imperfect that we can get, and yet the augment is more often omitted than not, we have another proof that the augment does not emphasize past time. (3) εἰ with aorist in the sense "if I have done," i.e. our old friend the perfect aorist, does answer our expectations. I have noted five instances of this construction with the augment in the *Achilleid*, none at all on the other side. In the *Odyssey* five augmented[1], and three on the other side, but all three are a curious construction.

γ. 94, 95 = δ. 323, 324: εἴ που ὄπωπας
ὀφθαλμοῖσι τεοῖσιν ἢ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσας.
ρ. 510, 511: εἴ που Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἠὲ πέπυσται
ἢ Fίδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι.

[1] In ν. 99 ἤγετε is aorist; see Monro, *H. G.* § 72.

It seems that in such cases the augment was not felt to be required, the preceding perfect shewing clearly that the aorist is perfect in sense without any further sign.

VI. Κεν *or* ἂν *with past tense.* In the *Achilleid* the unaugmented form is commoner, the proportion being 11 to 7. But in the *Odyssey* the proportion is reversed, being 24 to 42. In ω, excluding 382 where the reading is doubtful, it is 3 to 7. In the Hesiodic poems 1 to 3. Apparently the augment gained ground in this construction as time went on, but the numbers are too low to exclude possibility of accident.

VII. The augment therefore is not a sign of past time in the aorist. It is added by preference to the gnomic aorist which refers to any time and is no more past than future, and to the perfect aorist which has rather reference to the present condition of a thing than to a past event.

The distinction would be still clearer if we had not the augment added to such an extent as I have shewn may fairly be suspected in the ordinary aorist and imperfect. Even as it is we find in our MSS. that the augmented perfect aorists are about three times as numerous as the unaugmented, whereas the ordinary augmented forms of past tenses are actually in a decided minority.

The syllabic augment is the original form and is an emphatic particle. Now I do not know how it will seem to others, but to me it certainly somehow does seem that the perfect aorist actually is a more emphatic use. "In all such cases," as Mr Monro puts it, "the Aor. expresses primarily not *past time* but *completion*" (§ 76). And completion is the more emphatic. What else is the reduplication of the true perfect, but another way of emphasizing the same thing? Compared with δῶκα, both ἔδωκα and δέδωκα convey the idea of completeness. This has been partly obscured by the exigencies of verse which led the augmented form to be often used when the emphatic notion was absent and *vice versa*, and more again by the later invasion of the augment into the text, but nevertheless enough traces remain to point quite clearly to the truth. And so again are we brought back to the view that the

ordinary aorist of past time was not as a rule augmented in Homer, but that the older form was (in this sense) the living form, and the other was being "added" more and more to it during the Homeric period.

Why however is the augment used in the gnomic aorist? Where is the emphasis?

"When an assertion is made irrespective of time, the Pres. or Aor. is used—the Pres. for continuous and the Aor. for single or momentary action. Hence the use—

"In similes, as Il. 3. 23 *ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη as a lion is gladdened* (but in v. 25 *κατεσθίει goes on devouring*): Il. 4. 75 *οἷον δ' ἀστέρα ἧκε...τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σμινθῆρες ἵενται.*

"Also in 'gnomic' passages, reflexions, general sayings, &c."

Homeric Gr. § 78.

Here Mr Monro classes together the two kinds of aorists, both of which I have called gnomic, as of momentary action. They follow the perfect aorist in his analysis, and are, I think, to be considered as in reality the same. *ἐχάρη* is strictly "has felt joy," *ἧκε* is strictly "has sent." (It is a bold thing to say, and I speak in fear and trembling, but is Mr Monro's analysis exhaustive? Can such an instance as *πολέες τέ Ϝ' ἐθηήσαντο* (O. 682) be considered as one of momentary action? I hold that the aorist is not uncommonly used indifferently with the present in similes.) In the strict use however it is only the perfect aorist and therefore it is that it takes the augment. This is seen very clearly in most of the similes[1], not so in the properly gnomic use. But here it must surely be the same. For instance, *καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα, has before now killed.*

It is to be noted that the augment is much less commonly omitted with the gnomic than with the perfect aorists; yet I regard the former as derived from the latter. There must have been on my view the following stages in the aorist, after the separation from other Aryans.

[1] For instance, to take the first I light upon, N. 390:

ἠὲ πίτυς βλωθρὴ τήν τ' οὔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες ἐξέταμον,

"which they *have* cut."

1. Augment used to emphasize perfect aorist and hence also gnomic.

2. Augment used with unemphatic forms partly owing to demands of verse, and for the same reason getting dropped from perfect aorists to some extent, and to a much smaller extent from gnomic aorists. This is the stage at which the Homeric poems were composed. Why the augment should persist more in the gnomic aorists, who shall say? Perhaps it was due to a feeling that the gnomic aorist is more distinct from other uses.

3. Augment coming in like a flood, so that even the archaic duals yield to it. Finally it is established universally. So ἐκεῖνος becomes the only form used and dethrones the unemphatic κεῖνος altogether.

Though ignorant of a single letter of Sanskrit, I cannot pass by the comparison of this language altogether unnoticed: my authority is Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*. I have shewn that the more specific use of the augmented aorist in Homer is the "perfect"; I was considerably astonished then to find that all three aorists in Sanskrit "have in the older language the general value of a completed past or 'perfect,' translatable by 'have done' and the like," (Whitney § 825). There must, I think, be some connexion, but I fail to grasp it.

The augment is omitted in Vedic Sanskrit just as in Homer; it appears probable that both may be in somewhat the same stage.

The augmented conditional of Sanskrit bears the same relation to the future as French *aurais* to *aurai*. But *aurais* can hardly be said to refer to past time.

VIII. *The Imperfect.* On the view that the augment was a sign of past time and was added in speeches to mark this, it is clear that we ought to find the ratio of the augmented imperfect to the unaugmented in speeches to be as great as that of the augmented to the unaugmented aorist.

As proof that this is not so I will give Dr Koch's own figures; for though he cannot be trusted as absolutely accurate, he is quite near enough. His grand total for the speeches in

the twelve portions of Homer taken by him is as follows: augmented aorists, 255, unaugmented, 60, augmented imperfects, 67, unaugmented, 38. The proportion for the aorist then is $4\frac{1}{4}$: 1, the proportion for the imperfect is only $1\frac{29}{38}$: 1. These figures at once upset the view stated above. But not only that; the high number of augmented imperfects seems to be largely due to ἦεν and ἦσαν being reckoned in, which words have to do duty for aorists as well, and besides are for some reason oftener than not augmented, whether in speech or narrative. After working through a great mass of Koch's passages I got 50 augmented imperfects to 27 unaugmented. Deducting ἦεν, ἦσαν (and ἔεν as unaugmented) these were reduced to 34 against 24, a proportion of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. (Not in a single instance did my figures agree with Dr Koch's, and in some at least he was palpably wrong, but I think he may have followed Curtius in the indefensible view that ἔπλετο etc. are imperfects.)

Dr Koch's proportion for narrative is $\frac{541}{827}$: 1. It is evident therefore that there is some difference between the imperfects in speech and those in narrative, but what it is I am utterly unable at present to discover. But the difference is a difference of meaning, it is not simply the being in a speech that causes it; so much it is surely fair to claim from comparison of the figures for the aorist. We may borrow an axiom from another science and say that "difference of structure implies difference of function." In purely narrative passages, of speeches or elsewhere, the unaugmented form preponderates.

It is impossible not to connect the iteratives with the imperfect. We have two classes of words nearly allied in meaning, both used purely as historical tenses (for the great rarity of ἄν, κεν, εἰ, with imperfect as compared with aorist in Homer seems to shew that these uses of the imperfect are later and due to analogy with the aorist). On the received view the imperfect takes the augment because it is a historical tense and the augment is the sign of past time; also the iterative does *not* take the augment because it is only used as a historical tense! (*Homeric Gr.* § 69). Or, to put things in a more plausible way, both the augment and the formation with σκε or

σκο are signs of past time. And this looks satisfactory until we remember that there is a whole class of verbs formed with the same σκε or σκο in the present, and that "originally, no doubt, there was a single group of derivative stems in -σκε (ο) with the meaning of continued or repeated action." (*Homeric Gr.* § 49.) So that σκε is *not* a sign of past time, and the explanation breaks down; we are left with a palpable absurdity.

The truth is rather that the iterative class was originally like all other verbs and had no augment at all; why it should have not got one in Homer, while the others did, may perhaps never be explained.

As the difference between ἔλειπον and λείπον must have been very small, it is no wonder that the language obliterated such subtle distinctions. In the imperfect the process would be hastened by the identity of form in the first and second persons plural of present and unaugmented imperfect, though it is curious that Homer seems to have felt no objection to λείπομεν, λείπετε etc. as imperfects.

IX. *The Pluperfect.* This tense appears to have taken the augment much later than the others; I suspect that all reduplicated words with augment were comparatively new in the Homeric period. Imagine such a word as ἐτεταρπόμην! I have noted twelve pluperfects with syllabic augment (including ἐϜεϜικτο) from Dunbar's *Concordance to Odyssey and Hymns;* two of these are not recognised at all by La Roche; of the other ten, three are only from the *Hymns;* two more are not guaranteed by the metre, and two are imperfect in sense. And I have said nothing of all those pluperfects which are never read with the augment at all. On the other hand it may fairly be argued that a great many pluperfects could not be got into a hexameter if augmented; this however does not account for the fact that the augmented pluperfects are proportionally so much commoner in the *Hymns.* I should have little hesitation therefore in considering this as an instance of false analogy, though the pluperfect was augmented in Vedic Sanskrit, and if that can be shewn *not* to be due to false analogy my conclusion is upset.

If we had an imperfect and aorist augmented it would be only natural on analogy to augment the pluperfect too. The augmented conditional in Sanskrit is surely due to this.

Dr Koch's figures for the pluperfect are the following. Augmented, in speeches, 7, in narrative 27; unaugmented, in speeches, 6, in narrative, 82. I have myself examined the pluperfects in δ to ρ inclusive with results strikingly similar; omitting some uncertain words or instances where the reading varies, I found: augmented, in speeches, 14, in narrative, 23; unaugmented, in speeches, 11, in narrative, 81. We may say then that in speeches there is a very small preponderance of augmented forms, while in narrative the augmented are to the unaugmented about as 5 to 16. Here then the difference is more marked than in the imperfect, but again is far less marked than in the aorist. And altogether the augment is very rare with the pluperfects.

In all three tenses then the statement is true that the augment is commoner in speeches than narrative. The plain statement that an event did take place at some past time does not require an augment so strongly as the verbs used in conversation. I am in hopes that I may have made some approach to shewing why this was so with the aorist, which is where the phenomena are most strongly marked, and I cannot help believing that some influence of the same kind was at work with the other two tenses.

X. *Summary.* The augment has been largely added to our texts, though also occasionally dropped, since the poems were composed; several classes of words never, or rarely, took it originally in Homer. . The more correct usages of the augmented aorist were the gnomic and perfect aorists, in others it was more correct to have no augment, but the distinction was already much broken down. Something of the same kind may be surmised to have been taking place or to have taken place with the imperfect, and the augment was only creeping in with the pluperfect. The augment was a method of emphasizing and not purely a sign of past time.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to the two

leaders of Homeric scholarship in England, Mr Monro and Dr Leaf, whose pupil I am proud to call myself, for the trouble they have taken in connexion with this paper. I owe much to several letters from both, which have caused me to think out and put more clearly points that were obscure in my own mind, and have otherwise corrected and stimulated me. It must not be supposed that either is in any way committed to my views; indeed I can scarcely hope to have done more than awaken a fresh interest in this difficult question and perhaps provide a starting point from which a true solution may be reached.

Note A.

A good many places where the weak caesura has been obscured by the augment have been corrected by La Roche, but the following I think have so far escaped. M. 165, read *ἐγώ γε φάμην* for *ἐγώ γ' ἐφάμην*, O. 191, *δὲ λάχε* for *δ' ἔλαχε* (*δὲ λάχεν* Schol. O. 21), *ε*. 279, *δὲ φάνη* (CL) for *δ' ἐφάνη*, *ε*. 295, *τε πέσον* for *τ' ἔπεσον* or *τε πέσε* for *τ' ἔπεσε*, all four readings have MS. support, *η*. 268, *δὲ φάνη* (CDL) for *δ' ἐφάνη*. No doubt more still remain.

There are three lines in which worse has happened, and no caesura was left at all.

ζ. 326: *ῥαιομένου ὅτε μ' ἔρραιε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος.*

μ' ἔραιε La Roche. But rhythm shews that it should be *με ῥαῖε*; compare also such lines as Σ. 227: *δαιόμενον· τὸ δὲ δαῖε*, where *δ' ἔδαιε* would be justly scouted; indeed here also seven MSS. wrongly add the augment.

ξ. 115: *ὦ φίλε, τίς γάρ σ' ἐπρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσιν* HM and seven other MSS. La Roche rightly prefers *σε πρίατο* with AN and a few more.

O. 18: *οὐ μέμνη' ὅ τε τ' ἐκρέμα' ὑψόθεν, ἐκ δὲ ποδοῖιν.*

Read *ὅτε τε κρέμα'*. (*κρέμω* Bentley.)

In the first and third of these cases it is possible to argue that the peculiar rhythm is intentional. Very little justification for such a doctrine is to be found in Homer; indeed the great principle of sound reflecting sense may be said to have been at once invented

and perfected by Virgil, therein the most original of all poets. Instances of it in Greek poetry are few and far between; from Homer I remember two only, Ψ. 116, λ. 598, in which a curious rhythm is used for a special effect, and both of these are in late passages, later than the *Odyssey*.

One difficult line deserves notice, κ. 58:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τεπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτῆτος.

τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ACDHNQV, τε πασσάμεθ' cet. The latter is an instance of wrongly omitted augment. But no doubt both come from σίτου τε ἐπασσάμεθ', for neither of the MS. readings is tolerable. In ι. 87 comes the same line again, and here only CDMQ support τ' ἐπασσάμεθ', according to La Roche; compare however Ludwich, from whom I find that Nauck has anticipated my suggestion.

Note B.

The only instances of an augment short in Homer before a mute and liquid are ἐτράφην, Ψ. 84 (where the true reading is undoubtedly τράφομεν, see Leaf), ἐκλίθη, τ. 470, read ἐτέρωσε κλίθη*, προσέκλινε, φ. 138, 165, read πρόσκλινε*, προσέπλαζε, λ. 583, in the interpolated passage, read πρόσπλαζε*, finally ἐνέκρυψε, ε. 488, which is a gnomic aorist and so Mr Monro was well advised in not suggesting ἔγκρυψε; I do not feel sure that ἔκρυψε may not be right, but then why was it changed? (*Homeric Grammar*, § 370). We can see again how frequent must be an interpolated augment between the preposition and the verb in compounds. These few we can bring to book; hundreds defy us.

Note C.

ἧκα, ἔηκα and their compounds do not seem to be used just anyhow. In *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ἧκα is found nearly 60 times, ἔηκα only once in the MSS., A. 48, though we must also read ἀστέρ' ἔηκε in Δ. 75. ἀνῆκα 23, ἀνέηκα only once (E. 882) and that in a late passage; one may fairly doubt therefore whether the Odyssean poet would have used ἀνέηκα. ἐφῆκα 10, ἐφέηκα 4. ἐνῆκα 6, ἐνέηκα only in the very late K. 89. ἀφῆκα and ἀφέηκα are used indiffer-

* Monro.

ently, neither in *Odyssey*. καθῆκα never, καθέηκα once (Ω. 642, late again). On the other hand προέηκα and ἐπιπροέηκα are found 17 times, but the short forms never, except P. 545, a line athetized by Zenodotus (and Aristarchus?), absent altogether from some ancient copies, and bracketed by Leaf. The reason why προῆκα was not used is evidently the wish to avoid a short syllable before πρ.

So we have ξυνέηκα, ξυνῆκα being impossible. If συνῆκα had existed, it might be expected to have kept ξυνέηκα out; considering that προέηκα, also defended by metre, is the only other compound where ἔηκα clearly prevails, I am forced to conclude that the more correct epic form was not σύν but ξύν.

Note D.

One small bye product of this investigation is that the gnomic aorist is far more frequent in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. We have seen that there are 51 in the *Achilleid* alone, which is under 3500 lines, against 42 in the whole *Odyssey*, more than three times as long. And the rest of the *Iliad* also is much fuller of them than the *Odyssey* is. This is partly because there are so many more similes in the former; in this point the *Iliad* has greatly the superiority in quantity and quality alike, for all the most powerful similes are in it, so that Mr W. C. Green has not thought it worth while to follow up his delightful volume of similes from the *Iliad* with another from the *Odyssey*. And when the Odyssean poet does use simile he is not nearly so fond of the gnomic aorist in it; he rather prefers the present indicative, or the subjunctive.

Note E.

There is a curious passage in the *Hymns* (I. 5) which must be noticed:

Λητὼ δ' οἵη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

If the line is to stand where it is, it is in my judgment impossible to construe μίμνε anything but "remains." This would be a gnomic imperfect, a thing confined as far as I know to Nonnus. Either we must read ἔμεινε, no violent change for the *Hymns*, or, as I should rather suppose, some lines have been here forced in from a separate narrative, in which case the imperfect would be simple enough. The whole of this part of the hymn appears to be a mere congeries of fragments.

I have said that I know of no gnomic imperfect outside Nonnus. But ἦεν is found undoubtedly in a simile, Φ. 493:

δακρυόεσσα δ' ὕπαιθα θεὰ φύγεν, ὥστε πέλεια
ἥ ῥά θ' ὑπ' ἴρηκος κοίλην εἰσέπτατο πέτρην
χηραμόν· οὐδ' ἄρα τῇ γε Ϝαλώμεναι αἴσιμον ἦεν.

I can hardly venture to say positively that εἰσέπτατο here means "*has* flown into," but if the aorist in similes was developed from that perfect use as I maintain, then ἦεν would naturally follow it. "*Has* flown for it *was* not fated." Otherwise I can only suggest that ἦεν is used by Homer in place of an aorist, because εἰμὶ has no aorist of its own. He certainly uses εἴη as if it were an aorist optative, e.g. N. 343, where κε εἴη = *would have been.*

In Orphic *Argonautica* 1140 μετεκίαθον is no doubt meant, rightly or wrongly, for an aorist[1].

As ἦεν may be perhaps explained in Φ. 495 as natural after a perfect aorist, so it is only natural to find an optative in a simile after the same aorist, as ε. 490:

ἐνέκρυψε...ἵνα μή ποθεν ἄλλοθεν αὖοι (αὔῃ La Roche and Ludwich, after Demetrius Ixion). Or Σ. 322: ἐπῆλθε...εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι.

Note F.

When Mr Monro says that iteratives do not take the augment, I do not feel clear how far this is intended to apply. Apparently only to iterative past tenses formed from imperfects or aorists, not to actual verbs such as *θνῄσκω*, *βόσκω*. But the rule does apply to the latter also. Taking all the stems he gives, I find that there is no augmented imperfect in the *Odyssey* at any rate from *βάσκω*, *βόσκω*, *θνῄσκω*, *θρῴσκω*, *προβλώσκω*, *μιμνῄσκω*, *κικλῄσκω*, *γιγνώσκω*, *πιφαύσκω*, *δειδίσκομαι*, *διδάσκω*, *τιτύσκομαι*, *πάσχω*. But ἔφασκον is common enough, this word being peculiar in usage (*Homeric Gr.* § 49), ἐϜέϜισκεν occurs δ. 247, a line which presents another problem in its use of αὐτόν, ἐβόσκετο appears in *Hymn to Mercury* 193, a hymn confessedly late, and *μίσγω* is a curious exception, for we have ἐμισγόμεθα twice (α. 209, δ. 178) besides ἔμισγον (α. 110 where we might read *μίσγον*), ἐμίσγετο (ο. 430; "*μίσγετο* DL haud male," La Roche), and above all the famous ἐμισγέσκοντο of ν. 7, an

[1] In P. 739 Bentley suggested ἐπέβρεμε (and that after a present). Did he mean it for an aorist? ἔσχεθε, a hotly disputed word, must be gnomic aorist in Tyrtaeus xii. 22.

iterative past tense from an iterative present and yet augmented. However the general result is clear enough; *both* iterative classes take no augment, only the rule is not so strict with the first class. If then Homer actually prefers πάσχομεν as an imperfect to ἐπάσχομεν, in fact will scarcely use ἐπάσχομεν, though πάσχομεν is also the present form—if πάσχομεν both is and is not a historical tense—what becomes of the theory that iteratives have no augment because they are on the face of them historical tenses? πάσχομεν is not, on the face of it, anything of the kind.

Note G.

Theognis. Having occasion to look at this poet after the above was in type I was surprised to find with what regularity he augments the gnomic aorist. I think there is no exception, though I will not be positive, except 196, where perhaps read τλήμον' ἔθηκε, but then the line is seemingly copied from Homer, Ω. 49, where θέσαν is not gnomic. In 205 adopt ἔτισε from one MS., in 206 return to ἐπεκρέμασεν of the MSS., most needlessly altered, in 329 εἶλεν is the MS. reading though hardly right. Did Theognis then knowingly observe the rule, or is it a deceptive appearance owing to his nearly always augmenting everything? I incline to the former hypothesis. Solon however has ὑπέρθορεν and εὗρεν (iv. 29); neither is decisive, since ὑπερέθορεν could not be got into the verse and εὗρεν is only a blunder of the transcribers from the old alphabet.

It is of more interest to find another case of imperfect after gnomic aorist. Theognis (207) writes:

> ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ ἀναιδὴς
> πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἕζετο κῆρα φέρων.

Here we *must* translate: "Justice *has* caught another, for death *was* sitting," unless ἕζετο is aorist ("possibly" Monro, *H. G.* § 31) which for my part I can hardly believe. Anyhow an imperfect follows a similar aorist in 606: ὤλεσεν ἤδη ὅσοι ἔθελον.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON HOMERIC FISHING-TACKLE.

The principal passages in the Homeric poems in which fishing with hook and line is mentioned are the following:

(1) ὡς ὅτε τις φὼς
πέτρῃ ἔπι προβλῆτι καθήμενος ἱερὸν ἰχθὺν
ἐκ πόντοιο θύραζε λίνῳ καὶ ἤνοπι χαλκῷ.
Il. Π 406—8.

(2) ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἰκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ὄρουσεν,
ἥτε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.
Il. Ω 80—2.

(3) αἰεὶ γὰρ περὶ νῆσον ἁλώμενοι ἰχθυάασκον
γναμπτοῖς ἀγκίστροισιν, ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός.
Od. δ 368—9.

(4) ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ προβόλῳ ἁλιεὺς περιμήκεϊ ῥάβδῳ
ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ εἴδατα βάλλων
ἐς πόντον προΐῃσι βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο,
ἀσπαίροντα δ' ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἔρριψε θύραζε,
ὣς οἵγ' ἀσπαίροντες ἀείροντο προτὶ πέτρας.
Od. μ 251—5.

On passage (2) Dr Leaf has the following note: "The most plausible explanation is that a little tube or horn was passed over the line just above the hook, to prevent the fish biting it through, and that some molten lead was run into the tube to sink it. This would answer the purpose both of the 'gimp' and 'shot' of modern bottom-fishing. Some, while taking *μολυβδαίνη* to be a plummet to sink the line, regard *κέρας* as a horn tube through which the line ran, placed either on the side

of a boat to prevent friction, or on a rod like the modern rings through which the line runs. Neither of these suits the meaning of *ἐμβεβαυῖα*, as the lead could not be said in either case to go into the horn." On passage (4) Messrs Merry and Riddell give the same explanation, quoting from Schol. Q *Ἀρίσταρχος· κέρας, τὸ κεράτινον συρίγγιον ὃ ἐπιτιθέασι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐσθίεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰχθύος τὴν ὁρμιάν.*

Now, though the authority of Aristarchus is great in questions of textual criticism, it does not appear to me to be decisive on a matter of custom, when unsupported by other evidence, especially as there is no reason to suppose that he was a practical fisherman. Compare the explanation given by Aristarchus of Ψ 358, where he says that the competitors in the chariot-race were ranged in file one in front of another, which is absurd. For several reasons this explanation of *κέρας* seems to me unsatisfactory. In the first place if it was such a subordinate part of the tackle it is difficult to see why it should be mentioned so particularly in the similes in passages (2) and (4); it would be much more natural to say that the lead carries down the hook or the bait, and that the fisherman throws into the sea the hook or the bait; certainly no modern fisherman would talk of throwing in the gimp or the shot, which would be of about as much importance as the *κέρας* according to this explanation: and secondly, in passage (4) surely such an elaborate contrivance for preventing the line being bitten in two would not be required when fishing *ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι*. I believe that the *κέρας* is itself the bait, i.e. an artificial bait made of horn, and that commentators have been misled by taking it for granted that bottom-fishing with an edible bait is referred to, instead of an artificial bait allowed to sink, and then drawn rapidly through the water, which attracts the fish by its glitter and motion.

This explanation would account for the use of the *μολυβδαίνη* in (2), which would be a plug of lead inserted into the hollow bait of horn to sink it: *μολυβδαίνη* is specially mentioned here, because it is the splash which Iris makes which is the point of the comparison. In (4) *εἴδατα* may be either the same as the *κέρας* mentioned in the next line; or more

probably 'ground-bait' thrown in to attract the fish to the spot: the present participle *βάλλων* seems to imply constant action, i.e. the fisherman throws in at intervals a handful of ground-bait.

Now, though it may seem strange that it should be so, the use of an artificial bait is a more primitive custom than that of an edible bait on a metal hook. Among the South Sea Islanders no other baits were known before our fish-hooks were introduced by Europeans. Mr H. N. Moseley, in his account of the Admiralty Islands ("Notes by a Naturalist on the Challenger," page 467), says "Fish-hooks are used made of Trochus shell, all in one piece. They are of a simple hooked form without any barb. The natives did not seem to care for steel fish-hooks, and apparently did not, at first at least, understand their use. It is possible that they have never found out the plan of using bait on a hook. All Polynesian and Melanesian fish-hooks which I have seen are of the nature of artificial baits of bright nacre, imitating small fry in the water. If the natives did not understand the use of baits, it is no wonder that they despised European fish-hooks." Specimens of these baits from the Solomon Islands may be seen in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.

As metal would be very difficult to obtain in the South Sea Islands it is easy to see why the natives made the hook of the same material as the bait: the Homeric Greeks, as is plain from (1) and (3), used hooks of *χαλκός*, probably attached to the *κέρας* as in modern artificial baits.

My explanation is then that *κέρας* means an artificial bait of horn, probably shaped like a small fish, and hollow at all events at the upper end, into which a *μολυβδαίνη* was inserted to sink it: it had hooks of *χαλκός* fastened to it, and was used by being thrown out, allowed to sink, and then drawn rapidly through the water. In conclusion I may mention that artificial baits made of horn are in use now, and I have myself caught many trout with them.

C. E. HASKINS.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS AND THE HOMILIES OF ANTIOCHUS PALAESTINENSIS.

HITHERTO the only Greek excerpts from Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* known to scholars have been the two preserved by Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 36. It is plain therefore that the discovery of further portions of the Greek of the *Epistle* would be a matter of considerable importance. In *Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins*, published in 1884, a hint was given that this *Epistle* might be profitably compared with the *Homilies* of Antiochus Palaestinensis. More indeed than a hint was given, for not only were a few words of the *Epistle* shown to be found in *Hom.* 96, but a reference was given to *Hom.* 114[1] where more of the language of the *Epistle* occurs. It is the object of the following paper to show the nature and extent of the connexion which undeniably exists between the *Epistle* and these *Homilies*.

If the connexion of Antiochus with Polycarp's *Epistle* resembled his connexion with the writings of Hermas or Ignatius[2] or of Dionysius the Areopagite, it would only be necessary to extract from his *Homilies* those passages which he has in common with the *Epistle* and to add them together with his name to the *Veterum Testimonia* with which editions of the *Epistle* are commonly provided. The passages however which the *Homilies* have in common with the *Epistle* cannot be

[1] *Vid. infr. Hom.* 114 compared with passages in *Epist.* §§ 2, 3.

[2] To the excerpts from the *Homilies* given by the editors of Ignatius add *Hom.* 93 ἀλλ' ὀφείλομεν πάντες, ὁμοπιστίαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες, ἐντρέπεσθαι ἀλλήλους, καὶ μὴ κατὰ σάρκα ὁρᾶν τὸν πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶν. καὶ μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι. Comp. Ignat. *Magn.* 6 πάντες οὖν ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους, καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι.

treated simply as excerpts from it, for, when they are compared with his own utterances elsewhere and with the documents to which he had access, and which he actually used, it becomes evident that if he had never seen the *Epistle* now in our hands he would have written those passages as they are now found in the *Homilies*. Take, for example, the remarkable phrase in *Epist.* 6 "Knowing that we are all debtors of sins." The whole passage in which it occurs is in *Hom.* 123. But this particular phrase is found in the Book of Enoch, and there are various[1] indications that Antiochus derived it from this source. And thus is it throughout when the *Homilies* and the *Epistle* are placed side by side. There is nothing whatever in the language which Antiochus has in common with the *Epistle* which he might not, and indeed does not seem to, have derived from some other source. Then again it sometimes happens that the language of the *Epistle*, which is *not* found in Antiochus' own words, is nevertheless most aptly illustrated by passages[2] quoted by Antiochus, some of which are indeed even quoted by editors of the *Epistle*. It thus becomes necessary to compare the passages which the *Homilies* have in common with the *Epistle* with the *Homilies* themselves. Then again some explanation is needed of the fascination which the *Epistle* clearly had for Antiochus if he knew it at all. An interest in Dionysius the Areopagite, or Hermas, or Ignatius one can understand. There is a certain uniqueness in the writings of each of these authors. But Bishop Lightfoot[3] remarks upon the *Epistle* of Polycarp that it is "essentially commonplace," and that "it has intrinsically no literary or theological interest." If the *Epistle* is genuine this judgment is most certainly true, and thus there is nothing in its contents to explain the lively interest in it which Antiochus must have felt if he had any knowledge of it at all. The whole question is one of considerable interest. The *Homilies* of Antiochus have hitherto received very little attention at the hand of scholars, and the literary character of Antiochus himself is altogether unknown. He is supposed to

[1] *Vid. infr.* p. 248, *Hom.* 123 compared with *Epist.* §§ 5, 6.

[2] *Vid. infr.* p. 247, *Hom.* 74 and 123 side by side with *Epist.* §§ 5, 6.

[3] *Apostolic Fathers*, Part 2 Vol. 1. p. 597, 2nd edit.

be a mere commonplace plagiarist who brought little or no mind to bear upon his literary work. A greater mistake cannot easily be made. There are no writings in existence which show more *mind* of a certain kind than these *Homilies*. Antiochus, while using the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus and the LXX. as his text books, sometimes gives Hexaplaric[1] or other Greek versions of texts unknown to the LXX.; sometimes conforms his Scriptural quotations to the Vulgate[2]; sometimes

[1] Job viii. 21 runs in the LXX. ἀληθινῶν δὲ στόμα ἐμπλήσει γέλωτος, τὰ δὲ χείλη αὐτῶν ἐξομολογήσεως. In *Sacr. Par.* α xix. p. 356 this text runs ἀληθινὸν στόμα ἐμπλησθήσεται γέλωτος καὶ τὰ χείλη αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλιάσεται, being confused with LXX. Ps. cxxv. 2 τότε ἐμπλήσθη χαρᾶς τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἡμῶν ἀγαλλιάσεως. In *Hom.* 66, when using the *Sacr. Par.*, Antiochus observed this and wrote καὶ πάλιν· Ἀλήθειαν κτῆσαι, καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν· ὅτι στόμα ἀληθινοῦ ἐπλησθήσεται γέλωτος, τουτέστιν χαρᾶς. The ἀληθινοῦ (gen.) and χαρᾶς neatly show his knowledge of what has happened. The first part of his text is Prov. xxiii. 23, but it is not in the LXX. There is the Hexaplaric reading ἀλήθειαν κτῆσαι καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ σύνεσιν. The verse is in the Vulgate, and Complutensian edition.

In *Hom.* 8 Antiochus has Ecclus. x. 9 φιλαργύρου οὐδὲν ἀνομώτερον. οὗτω γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔκπρακτον ποιεῖ. This is in the Vulgate and in the Complutensian edition but not in the ordinary LXX. version. In like manner also he quotes Ecclus. xx. 3 in *Hom.* 77.

[2] Instances are numerous; e.g. (1) In *Hom.* 5 Antiochus uses *Sacr. Par.* ο vii. p. 629, and there finds Prov. xx. 1 ἀκόλαστον οἶνος καὶ ὑβριστικὸν μέθη· πᾶς δὲ ἄφρων τοιούτοις συμπλέκεται quoted correctly from the LXX. For the last clause he himself writes πᾶς δὲ ὁ μιγνύμενος τούτοις οὐκ ἔσται σοφός ('non erit sapiens.' Vulg. Hexap. Complut.). His μιγνύμενος takes up the ἄφρων of the LXX. and is borrowed from Prov. xiv. 16 ὁ δὲ ἄφρων...μίγνυται ἀνόμῳ. This kind of parallel citation is very common with him, and seems to be employed to mark his knowledge of original authorities. Thus again

(2) In *Hom.* 75, using *Sacr. Par.* δ xviii., xix. p. 440 sq. and Anton. *Loc. Comm.* ii. 7 and 8 p. 144 sq., Antiochus finds in both writers Prov. xvii. 15 ὃς δίκαιον κρίνει τὸν ἄδικον, ἄδικον δὲ τὸν δίκαιον, ἀκάθαρτος καὶ βδελυκτὸς παρὰ Κυρίῳ quoted from the LXX. correctly, except that Κυρίῳ is substituted for Θεῷ. Antiochus writes ὃς δίκαιον κρίνει τὸν ἄδικον, ἄδικον δὲ τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ ἀμφότεροι βδελυκτοὶ παρὰ Κυρίῳ· ὁ δὲ ζητῶν τὸν Κύριον εὑρήσει γνῶσιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης. The Vulgate has 'abominabilis est uterque apud Deum.' The remainder of the text is from LXX. Prov. xvi. 5, and is from that part of the verse which is *not* in the Vulgate. The ἀκάθαρτος which Antiochus drops out of xvii. 15 takes him to this verse which begins with ἀκάθαρτος παρὰ Θεῷ ('abominatio Domini,' Vulgate). The more clearly to show his actual use of the LXX. he almost immediately borrows another clause (ἀρχὴ ὁδοῦ ἀγαθῆς τὸ ποιεῖν τὰ δίκαια) from the same verse and tacks it on to Prov. xv. 21 to form another text.

(3) In *Hom.* 109 Antiochus quotes

gives two versions[1] of the same passage as if two texts; some-

1 Pet. v. 5 thus:—*πάντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκολπίσασθε* κ.τ.λ., evidently a clever attempt to conform to the 'omnes autem invicem humilitatem *insinuate*' of the Vulgate. He knew, and had no objection to, the *ἐγκομβώσασθε* of S. Peter, for in *Hom.* 127 he writes *καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὴν ἀγνείαν ἐγκομβοῦται ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ*, thus adding another to the very few examples of the use of the word apart from the stock quotations of the Lexicons. His whole sentence shows that while using *ἐγκομβοῦσθαι* his mind reverted, as was natural, to *ἐγκολπίζεσθαι*, which he had previously substituted for it, and to Philo from whom he borrowed the word, and in particular to Philo's *De Confusione Linguarum*.

[1] (1) In *Sacr. Par.* λ iii. p. 573 is Prov. xi. 26 written as *ὁ τιμιουλκῶν σῖτον δημοκατάρατος. ὁ συνέχων σῖτον, ὑπολείποιτο αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι*. The first half of this is a version of the second found in the Hexapla and in a passage from Basil, quoted in the *Sacr. Par.* and from which the writer might have taken it. That the two versions might easily be confused and combined is plain from a passage from Gregory, also quoted in *Sacr. Par.*, where Gregory writes *ὁ συνέχων σῖτον δημοκατάρατος*. In *Hom.* 13 Antiochus writes *ὁ δὲ συνέχων σῖτον ἀπολείποιτο αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι· καί· ὁ τιμιουλκῶν σῖτον δημοκατάρατος· εὐλογία δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ μεταδιδόντος*. Notice the pains he takes to show that he knows what he is doing. He goes on with the text out of the LXX. as the writer of the *Sacr. Par.* and Basil do not. He reverses the order of the versions as given in *Sacr. Par.* and makes the Hexaplaric version an interpolation. And, as if to make it still more plain that he had examined the LXX. for himself, he quotes Prov. xxii. 1 immediately before xi. 26, so that *χάρις ἀγαθή* are the words just preceding the text, whereas the words next following it in the LXX. are *τεκταινόμενος ἀγαθὰ ζητεῖ χάριν ἀγαθήν*. The coincidence is too remarkable to be accidental.

(2) *Hom.* 94 *αἱρετώτερον οὖν ἐστι μετὰ ὀλίγων καλῶν διάγειν, ἢ μετὰ πλήθους ἀχρήστων, εἰ μή ἐστι φόβος Κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν. κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς δίκαιος, ἢ χίλιοι ἁμαρτωλοί. ἐν συναγωγῇ γὰρ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐκκαυθήσεται πῦρ. καί, εἰ ἦ σκληροτράχηλος, θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο, εἰ ἀθωωθήσεται· ἔλεος γὰρ καὶ ὀργὴ παρὰ Κυρίου. καὶ ἄλλος·* (obs.) *Μὴ ἐπιθύμει πλῆθος ἀχρήστων· ἐὰν πληθυνθῶσιν, μὴ εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή ἐστι φόβος Κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν. μὴ ἐμπιστεύσῃς τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν· στενάξεις γὰρ πένθει ἀώρῳ. κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς δίκαιος ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ μύριοι παράνομοι· καί, δίκαιον ἀποθανεῖν ἄτεκνον...συνοικισθήσεται πόλις.* This is as amusing as it is barefaced. Notwithstanding the *καὶ ἄλλος* the whole is nothing but a few verses of Ecclus. xvi., with the title of the *Homily* and a scrap (*πένθει ἀώρῳ*) from Wisd. xiv. 15 thrown in, three of them used twice, once in each part:—v. 1 *μὴ ἐπιθύμει τέκνων πλῆθος ἀχρήστων* (twice) ...2 *ἐὰν πληθύνωσι, μὴ εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή ἐστι φόβος Κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν* (twice). 3 *μὴ ἐμπιστεύσῃς τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν ...κρείσσων γὰρ εἷς ἢ χίλιοι* (twice), *καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄτεκνον* ...4 ... *συνοικισθήσεται πόλις*,.6 *ἐν συναγωγῇ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐκκαυθήσεται πῦρ*...11 *κἂν ἦ εἷς σκληροτράχηλος, θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο εἰ ἀθωωθήσεται, ἔλεος γὰρ καὶ ὀργὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ*. Antiochus was evidently led to this singular manufacture from finding in Max. *Loc. Comm.* 7 p. 689 *κρείσσων εἷς δίκαιος, ἢ μύριοι παράνομοι· καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄτεκνον* κ.τ.λ. a misquotation of Ecclus. xvi. 3. He is very impartial, for he uses as

times gives wrong[1] ascriptions; and sometimes quotes as Scripture[2] language which, if not his own, is at any rate neither

much of Ecclus. xvi. on the one side of *καὶ ἄλλος* as on the other. It is impossible not to be reminded of the *καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει οὕτως*, with which the writer of Clem. Rom. 8 prefaces a correct version of Is. i. 18, having just given an exceedingly loose version of the same text, which is found in Clement of Alexandria.

[1] For example, in *Hom.* 78 Antiochus ascribes Hab. ii. 3 ('Though it tarry wait for it,' &c.) to Zephaniah. *Sacr. Par.* υ xii. p. 704, with which *Hom.* 78 is closely connected, explains the mystery. There are there seven texts following one another, the first and last of which only are rightly ascribed. They stand thus:

(Prov. xiv. 17, 29)	Prov. xiv. *ἀνὴρ φρόνιμος...ὑποφέρει.*
	Μακρόθυμος...φρονήσει.
(Prov. xv. 18)	*Μακρόθυμος...κρίσεις.*
(Prov. xix. 11)	Prov. xv. *ἐλεήμων...μακρόθυμος.*
(Mic. vii. 9)	Prov. xix. *ὀργὴν Κυρίου...αὐτῷ.*
(Nah. i. 7)	Mich. vii. *χρηστὸς Κύριος...θλίψεως.*
(Hab. ii. 3)	Nahum i. *ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ...οὐ χρονιεῖ.*
(Zeph. iii. 8)	Soph. iii. *ὑπόμεινόν με...συναγωγὰς ἐθνῶν.*

Here three verses are given to one heading. This has led to a displacement of the following headings, and to the loss of one (Hab. ii. 3) altogether. It is evident that if any person were to notice the mistake and to remove the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th headings to the preceding texts he would be right, but that if he were to do the same with Soph. iii. he would be wrong. That is exactly what Antiochus has done. He quotes Mich. vii. (*Sacr. Par.*) and rightly ascribes it to Nahum, and he adopts the same course with Nahum i. (*Sacr. Par.*) and so wrongly ascribes it to Zephaniah, instead of to Habakkuk. But he is careful to show that he is conscious of the mistake by continuing the text with the beginning of v. 4, which is not in *Sacr. Par.* Nor is this all. Hab. ii. 3 is quoted in Heb. x. 37, but with the well-known addition of *μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον*. Heb. x. 36, 37 is quoted in *Sacr. Par.* and immediately followed by 2 Tim. ii. 12. In the *Homily* Hab. ii. 3, 4 is immediately followed by 2 Tim. ii. 12, and that again by Heb. x. 36. Thus both in the *Sacr. Par.* and in the *Homily* the words of the prophet are followed by 2 Tim. ii. 12, only that in the *Sacr. Par.* the version is that of S. Paul with *μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον*, and in the *Homily* a corrected version, namely, that of the prophet himself. There are several other tricks of like kind in this *Homily*.

[2] For example, in *Hom.* 23, where giving a string of texts connected together with *καὶ πάλιν, ἀλλά, καί*, he adds *καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ κινεῖται ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμων, οὕτως θυμώδης ταράσσεται ὑπὸ λογισμῶν ὀργίλων*. Comp. with *Hom.* 24 on the same subject. There the clauses from Prov. xiv. 17, 29, spoken of in the last note, are cited together as in the *Sacr. Par.* Antiochus there also uses *Sacr. Par.* π 15, p. 650 sq., in which Ecclus. i. 22 *οὐ δυνήσεται θυμὸς ἄδικος δικαιωθῆναι* is quoted as in the LXX. For *θυμὸς ἄδικος* the Vulgate has "qui sine timore est" (and so *ἄφοβος* Clem. Alex. p. 139), but the Complut. ed. *θυμώδης ἀνήρ* ("a furious man" A.V.). In *Hom.* 24 Antiochus cites the closing words of Ecclus. xxviii. 8 and the opening words of v. 9 but separates them with *οὐ γὰρ*

in the Greek Bible nor in the Vulgate. He nevertheless always makes it quite plain that he knows what he is about and is acting advisedly, whatever the trick—it is often not possible to call it anything else—may be that he plays. There is hardly a writer whom it is more unsafe to handle unsuspiciously. While considering Antiochus' knowledge of the *Epistle*, his character must be kept in mind.

The passages in the *Epistle* which closely resemble passages in the *Homilies* occur in §§ 2 (*Hom.* 114), 3 (*Hom.* 96 and 114), 5 and 6 (*Hom.* 74 and 123). As it will be well at the outset to show that indebtedness on one side or the other must needs be confessed, §§ 5, 6 will now be given with the parallels from the *Homilies* placed alongside. The various passages will then be discussed one by one as they stand in the *Homilies*.

Epistle §§ 5, 6.

§ 5. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὔσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων. ᾧ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀπολημψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως

Homilies 123, 74.

123...ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων... καὶ μὴ διάβολοι, μηδὲ δίλογοι, ἀλλὰ ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς, περὶ πάντας εὔσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων· ᾧ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀπολημψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ.

δυνήσεται ἄνθρωπος θυμώδης δικαιωθῆναι· καὶ αὖθις, thus giving emphasis to his version of Ecclus. i. 22 by tacking it on to Ecclus. xxviii. 8 and giving the two as one text. He was plainly a man who was well acquainted with, and took an interest in, 'differences of reading'.

αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἴγε πιστεύομεν. ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσιν, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἁγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10), οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. διὸ δέον ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς παρθένους ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

Hom. 74...μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτήν, καθὼς βούλει (Herm. *Mand.* xii. quoted here and by Zahn and Lightfoot on *Epist.* 6)...καλὸν οὖν ἐστιν τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται.

[*Hom.* 75 ἄδικοι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν (1 Cor. vi. 9).]

Hom. 123...ἐπεὶ τί ἄτοπον ἐποίει ὁ Ὀζίας θυμιῶν τῷ Θεῷ; κ.τ.λ. (Dion. Areop. *Ep.* 8).

Hom. 124 Ὁ Θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐπιστέλλει λέγων· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῷ ὑποτασσομένῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ διακόνοις κ.τ.λ....ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ. δέον κ.τ.λ. ...τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς τὸν Πατέρα κ.τ.λ.

[Several of the passages here quoted are those which editors (e.g. *Polyc.* 6, *Trall.* 3, *Smyrn.* 8, Zahn) suppose Polycarp to have had in mind, and they are separated only by the last four lines of *Hom.* 123 from συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, which belongs both to the *Homily* and the *Epistle*.]

6. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὔσπλαγχνοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀπο-

Hom. 123 Ἐπόμενόν ἐστιν τοὺς ἱερεῖς μιμητὰς γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν, ὡς κἀ-

πεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, ἀλλὰ προνοοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται[1] ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι. οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου (Ps. ii. 11) καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι [τῶν] σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει[2] φερόντων κεῖνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ, εἰς πάντα, εἰς...τὸ εὔσπλαχνον ...τὸ συμπαθητικὸν εἰς πάντας, τὸ ἐλεήμονας εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντας τὰ πεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτομένους πάντα τὰ ἀσθενῆ, μὴ ἀμελοῦντας χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν ἢ πενήτων, καλὰ προνοοῦντας ἀεί, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχομένους πάσης ὀργῆς καὶ προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, φιλαργυρίας· μὴ ταχέως ἐμπιστεύοντες κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτιῶν. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα ἀφίῃ ἡμῖν, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσμὲν ὀφθαλμῶν. ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ὀφείλουσιν κ.τ.λ.

Hom. 122...εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι λίαν δι' αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι λόγον δεῖ, ὡς ἡγουμένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας (quoting Herm. *Sim.* ix. 31).

Hom. 75...πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου τὸ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα ἐγκελεύε-

[1] Syncell. *Chron.* p. 11: καὶ εἶπε Σεμιαζᾶς ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, Φοβοῦμαι μὴ οὐ θελήσητε ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ μόνος ὀφειλέτης ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης. The sin is the taking the daughters of men to wife by the sons of God, Gen. vi. 1 sq. This sin is distinctly spoken of by Antiochus at the beginning of *Hom.* 74, and Gen. vi. 3 is there expressly quoted. He is fond of ὀφειλέτης (*Hom.* 114 and often). He uses it in *Hom.* 130 in connexion with purity, and shortly afterwards quotes Gen. vi. 3. *Vid. infr.* p. 283.

[2] On these and the following words Zahn quotes "Herm. *Sim.* ix. 19: ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι πονηρίας... οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄνομα μὲν ἔχουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πίστεως κενοί εἰσιν," and adds

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

ται τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην. φησὶ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ...δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ κ.τ.λ. (Ps. ii. 11)...εἰ ἀληθῶς ἄρα δικαιοσύνην λαλεῖτε, εὐθέα κρίνατε, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (Ps. lvii. 1 LXX). εἰ ἀληθῶς ἄρα, καὶ μὴ ψεῦδος, μηδὲ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν.

Hom. 73 has various references to σκάνδαλα, and in it several appropriate texts are quoted.

From the foregoing it is sufficiently evident that the *Homilies* are not independent of the *Epistle*. Was the language of the *Epistle* copied into or out of the *Homilies*? This is the problem which now comes up for solution. There is of course the possibility that Antiochus, or whoever writes in his name, may have been the author of the *Epistle*. This theory is not to be disposed of summarily as absurd on the ground of difference of style, for not only has every writer several styles, each of which is natural to him, but, if he has a real mastery over the language in which he writes, he can assume any style he wishes. Both Bishop Lightfoot and Zahn have printed Greek translations of the Latin of that portion of the *Epistle* which is wanting in the Greek MSS. The Bishop considers that the "very general agreement of the two (translations) may perhaps be accepted as a presumption that they fairly represent the original of Polycarp" (iii. p. 320). It is nevertheless certain that, if these two scholars had been writing on some subject with unshackled pen, their styles would not

"Ad hunc locum Polycarpus respexisse mihi videtur, praesertim cum vox κενός facile eum traducere potuerit ad aliud Hermae dictum de pseudo-propheta; αὐτὸς γὰρ κενὸς ὤν, κενῶς καὶ ἀποκρίνεται κενοῖς *Mand.* XI. p. 68, 2." Zahn might have made the parallel closer out of the same place, and might have quoted from *Mand.* v. 2, p. 48 ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένους. It should be observed that it is from *Mand.* XII. that Antiochus quotes in *Hom.* 74 and from *Sim.* IX. in *Hom.* 122. See above in the text.

only have differed from that of the *Epistle*, but also from each other. The possibility therefore that whoever writes under the name of Antiochus may have been the author of the *Epistle* has to be kept in view. The immediate question for solution is that stated above. Was the language of the *Epistle* copied out of or into the *Homilies*? The question is not unlike that which arises in the course of the examination of the Ignatian Letters. Was their interpolator a copyist of, or was he copied in, the *Apostolic Constitutions*? Bp. Lightfoot's treatment (i. p. 263) of this question is perhaps the best piece of work in the whole of his writings on the Apostolic Fathers. The best, not because of the conclusion at which he arrives, but because of the practical method which he adopts. The pity is that he so seldom made use of it. He invites his readers to place the language of parallel passages with their contexts side by side, and to conclude that that writer whose language is again and again explained by the other must needs have been the copyist. Following this method, he finds himself driven to the conclusion that the Ignatian interpolator borrowed from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. He is not so successful in his attempt to disprove the theory that the interpolator of the Letters was the interpolator also of the *Constitutions*. The arguments are of another kind, and the Bishop's mind was too honest and open to allow him to put himself in line with a forger and falsifier of ancient documents. The question then which the Bishop set himself to solve is altogether like that which the discovery of fresh evidence brings to the front in the case of the *Epistle*, and it is reasonable to seek a solution by adopting the Bishop's method.

The passages from *Ep.* 5, 6 lie side by side with the parallel passages found in *Hom.* 74 and 123. How far then is the language of the one illustrated and explained by the language of the other? It is simply a fact that, while the language of the *Epistle* is again and again explained by that of the *Homilies*, there is not one particular in those two *Homilies* which is explained by the *Epistle*. A good many interesting and important points will be noticed hereafter (p. 268), when the passages in *Hom.* 123 will be written out in their proper

order. Meanwhile let those which may now be observed be considered.

What is the meaning of *χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτούς*? Antiochus himself does not use the sentence in which the word occurs, but the passage from Hermas which he quotes explains that it is the wild, unruly, evil *ἐπιθυμία* that is to be bridled. The passage from Hermas is referred to by both Jacobson and Bishop Lightfoot as illustrative of the use of *χαλιναγωγεῖν* in the *Epistle*.

To what text does the writer of the *Epistle* refer when he says that "every *ἐπιθυμία* wars against the spirit"? Antiochus uses these words and afterwards quotes 1 Pet. ii. 11.

What does the writer mean by *οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα*, where the *οὔτε* shows that *ἄτοπα* are not 'iniquities' that come from following 'lusts'? The writer adds "wherefore it is necessary to abstain from all these, being in subjection to the Presbyters and Deacons." Commentators think it necessary to have a note upon *ἄτοπα*. Antiochus does not here himself use the word, but the passage which he quotes from Dionysius does so and, read with Antiochus' context, explains its meaning. Antiochus says "neither *προπετεύεσθε* in any thing, as if for the sake of religion. Let all things be done decently and in order according to the Apostle. Since *τί ἄτοπον ἐποίει ὁ Ὀζίας θυμιῶν...ὁ Σαοὺλ θύων...ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῦ ἔστω τῆς λειτουργίας...ἐπὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ* (2 Sam. vi. 7 in A) *Ὀζία κ.τ.λ.*" It appears then that *ἄτοπος* is here something 'out of place,' 'contrary to decency and order,' *προπέτεια*, disobedience and the like, and the *prompt* addition in the *Epistle* of the words "being in subjection to presbyters," &c. is at once explained.

In thus speaking of presbyters and deacons, the language in the judgment of editors and critics resembles that of Ignatius in various passages. What are those passages? Antiochus gives them at the very beginning of *Hom.* 124.

What does the writer of the *Epistle* mean by *ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα*? Some critics have desired to change the neuter plural into the masculine. The *Homilies* show that *τὰ πρόβατα* are meant (*vid. infr.* p. 274).

In the *Epistle* the writer says εἰδότες ὅτι (a mark of quotation as Bishop Lightfoot supposes) πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. Antiochus uses the words. The expression occurs in the Book of Enoch (*vid. supr.*) as quoted in a Greek dress by Syncellus (*Chron.* p. 11). The 'sin' there spoken of is that of the 'sons of God' described in Gen. vi. 1 sq. There is no reference, however remote, in the *Epistle* to the narrative in Genesis. In *Hom.* 74 however there is a most decided reference to it, for Antiochus there turns it into allegory and expressly quotes Gen. vi. 3.

What text has the writer of the *Epistle* in view when he says "Let us serve the Lord with fear"? Bishop Lightfoot suggests Ps. ii. 11, and in *Hom.* 75 Antiochus expressly quotes that text, and in his context has thoughts resembling the context in the *Epistle.*

Against these instances, in which the language of the *Epistle* is illustrated and explained by that of the *Homilies,* not even one instance can be set in which a thought or a word either in *Hom.* 74 or 123 is similarly illustrated or explained. The obvious inference would seem to be that the writer of the *Epistle,* if not Antiochus himself, was the copyist. It is however not to be expected that a document which has for so long a time been commonly, though not universally, regarded as the genuine work of Polycarp, will be so easily disposed of. A twofold objection will at once come to the mind of critics.

1. The opening words from *Ep.* 5, quoted above, are found in a Syriac dress in a book of excerpts compiled by Severus, and by him ascribed to "Polycarp bishop of Smyrna and martyr, from the Epistle to the Philippians" (Cureton, *Corp. Ignat.* pp. 214, 246). As this particular passage along with more of *Ep.* 5 is found in *Hom.* 123, it will be said that it must be assumed that Antiochus borrowed the whole from the *Epistle.* No doubt the fact here pointed out is not to be lightly set aside. It is not in itself a proof that Antiochus borrowed from the *Epistle,* but it is a strong fact looking in that direction. Its force is however greatly weakened by the circumstance that in the case of pseudo-Clement's *Epistles to Virgins* the same thing has happened. In *Hom.* 21 Antiochus uses an excerpt

which in a Syriac dress is given by Timotheus of Alexandria, and by him ascribed to "Clement bishop of Rome from the First Epistle on Virginity." The *Epistles to Virgins*, now in our hands, were however in their Greek form, if not written by Antiochus himself, at any rate derived in great part from the *Homilies*[1]. What he did in the case of the *Epistles to Virgins*, ascribed to Clement, he may have done in the case of the *Epistle to the Philippians* ascribed to Polycarp. It is worth noticing that the excerpt immediately preceding that quoted by Timotheus out of Clement is ascribed to Polycarp, and appears in Severus immediately after the passage which *Hom.* 123 and *Ep.* 5 have in common (*vid. infr.* p. 272). It is evident from *Hom.* 130[2] that Antiochus was acquainted with the writings of Severus.

2. It may be said that the literary characteristics of Antiochus, pointed out above (p. 243 sq.), suggest that he may, no less than editors and critics, have desired to illustrate and enforce the language of the *Epistle* by the citation of parallel passages. It might perhaps be enough to reply that to suppose a writer when expressly discoursing on a named subject, and illustrating that subject by parallel passages drawn from Scripture and other sources, is at the same time striving to illustrate the language of Polycarp's *Epistle*, is a supposition too absurd to require serious refutation. At the same time it is certain that the *Homilies* of Antiochus cannot be judged by any ordinary standards[3], and consequently it will be desirable to

[1] See *Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins*. To the many proofs there given that these *Epistles* followed, not preceded, the *Homilies* of Antiochus, may be added the fact that in *Hom.* 130 there are texts —one of them very peculiar, being John iii. 6, 31 combined—which have been taken from *Sacr. Par.* σ xi. p. 686. These texts, together with Antiochus' context, are found in *Ep. ad Virg.* i. 8.

[2] One cannot escape from coincidences with the *Epistle* even in this the last *Homily*. There is a use of διάδημα very suggestive of the meaning of διαδήματα in *Ep.* 1; καὶ οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν to be compared with καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ in the inscription, and with the famous "qui cum eo sunt" in *Ep.* 13; and while in *Ep.* 2 the writer says καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, in this *Homily* Antiochus has the same blending of texts, only that he writes οἱ πτωχοὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.

[3] What, for example, is to be said concerning the following coincidences

compare the *Homilies* still more closely with the *Epistle*, taking up the parallel passages, as already proposed, one by one.

which cannot be accidental? The passage containing Ps. ii. 11, quoted above amongst the parallels from *Hom.* 75, written out more fully, stands thus; καλὸν δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ τὸ...ῥητὸν... ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς...ὑπτίως κείσθω ῥέγχων ἀμερίμνως. Πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου τὸ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα ἐγκελεύεται τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· φησὶ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ...δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ, καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ· πᾶς ἄνθρωπος δράξασθε παιδείας κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ep.* 4 ἀγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρατείᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ. This coincidence is not alone of its kind. In *Hom.* 102 Antiochus has εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ματαιολογίας· ὥς φησιν ὁ Παροιμιαστής· Ἀπεπλάνησεν δὲ αὐτὸν πολλὴ ὁμιλία. Comp. *Ep.* 2 δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην. These verbal coincidences are curious. It is to be noted that in each case the writer of the *Epistle* is supposed to be manipulating the language of Clement of Rome, and that in each Ps. ii. 11 appears, in the one case in the *Homily*, in the other in the *Epistle*. One is led to conjecture that there must be some by-play here, something lying behind this use of Ps. ii. 11. An utterance of Polycarp's own explains it. If Pionius may be believed (see iii. p. 457, *Life of Polycarp*, § 26), bishop Daphnus was so delighted at a visit paid him by Polycarp that he brought out a cask of wine for the refreshment of the brethren, and instructed the servants to fetch more wine from within (ἔνδοθεν οἶνον) to replenish the cask, as it might be wanted. Polycarp, however, said that this was needless, inasmuch as the cask would not fail. When it was found that the more the wine was drunk the more abundant it became a servant girl standing by cried out, not with fear but in merriment,—"Inexhaustible little cask." At this the presiding angel was angry and withdrew, and not only did all further supply cease, but even the wine in the cask vanished; whereupon Polycarp said, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ· Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ. Comp. with Antiochus at the beginning of this note. The gathering spoken of was hardly of a temperance kind, and the probable effects upon the thirsty brethren might well call to mind Arist. *Eq.* 101 sq. ἔνδοθεν κλέπτων τὸν οἶνον... ὁ βάσκανος ῥέγχει μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ὕπτιος. Comp. Antiochus' ὑπτίως κείσθω ῥέγχων ἀμερίμνως, where he skilfully combines Aristophanes with two scholia, writing ὑπτίως ῥέγχων with Aristophanes, ὑπτίως κείσθω glancing at τοὺς ὑπτίως ἀνακειμένους of the scholiast, while ῥέχγων ἀμερίμνως just exactly hits off the scholiast's description of the force of ῥέγχειν as used in *Nub.* 5. It is a very careful piece of work and worth considering by any one who desires to know what Antiochus was. The *Homily* is περὶ δικαιοκρισίας which, he says at the beginning, may be perverted by the use of wine. Near the end he has a reference to πολυποσία.

Hom. 59 περὶ τοῦ συγχαίρειν.

The Greek MSS. of the *Epistle* all fail at the close of § 9, and thus the Greek of the remainder of the document, with the exception of the greater part of § 13, which is found in Eusebius, is missing. The Latin version is however entire. The translations of and comments upon this version by distinguished editors and critics, writing as they did without any thought of the questions now raised, are of great value for the comparison of the *Epistle* with the *Homilies*.

In *Ep.* 11 the writer mourns over the fall of the presbyter Valens and his wife, and gives directions as to the way in which this erring member of the Church should be treated, and, if possible, restored. He says:—Nimis contristatus sum ("συνελυπήθην, sc. cum Philippensibus" Zahn, comparing συνεχάρην ὑμῖν in *Ep.* i.) pro Valente...si quis non abstinuerit se ab avaritia (φιλαργυρίας Light., Zahn), ab idolatria coinquinabitur, et tanquam inter gentes[1] judicabitur, qui ignorant judicium domini. *Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt?* sicut Paulus docet. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis[2] vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus (μακάριος) Paulus, qui estis in principio[3] epistulae ejus: de vobis etenim *gloriatur in* omnibus *ecclesiis* (2 Thess. i. 4, Light., &c.)...valde ergo, fratres, contristor (συλλυποῦμαι Zahn) pro illo et pro conjuge ejus, &c. At the close Bp. Lightfoot says, "For the sentiment see 1 Cor. xii. 26."

In *Hom.* 58 Antiochus warns his readers against exulting over the fall of any one, and then in *Hom.* 59 urges them συγχαίρειν τοῖς εὖ βιοῦσιν, and says καθὼς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, συγχαίρων τισίν, ἔλεγεν· ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς

[1] Comp. μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ('cum gentilibus') κρίνεται. Eusebius in *Sacr. Par.* π 29 p. 668. The Title is περὶ πρεσβυτέρων and the argument of this (the only) excerpt is that Judgment belongs to God.

[2] "Ign. *Trall.* 8 Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν." Light.

[3] A supposed reference to Phil. iv. 15 ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, and the praise of the Philippian Church there bestowed. The text is quoted at length in *Hom.* 99. Antiochus seems to have taken special note of its opening words, for in *Hom.* 102, speaking of S. Paul's preaching until midnight, he says ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ κηρύγματος.

ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. (2 Thess. i. 4). Ὁμοίως καὶ Φιλιππησίοις, stringing together *with this ascription*, Phil. ii. 17 (...χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν...), 18; 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26; Rom. xii. 15 (οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων ὀφείλομενί), 10 (καὶ· τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι[1]).

Notice here the ὁ μακάριος (in the *Homilies*[2] for first time) Παῦλος with 2 Thess. i. 4; the use of 1 Cor. xii. 26; the use of Rom. xii. 15 where S. Paul urges us to weep as well as to rejoice with others; and that Bp. Lightfoot supposes Rom. xii.

[1] These words from Rom. xii. 10 are used, as Bp. Lightfoot thinks, in the preceding chapter (*Ep.* 10). He translates the Latin thus, τῷ ὑποδείγματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἀκολουθοῦντες...τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κοινωνοῦντες, τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι, and in the next sentence πάντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποτάγητε, τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀνεπίλημπτον ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ. He considers Rom. xii. 10, 1 Pet. v. 5, and 1 Pet. ii. 12 to be sources of what he prints as quotations. In the very last lines of *Hom.* 108 Antiochus calls special attention to the example of Christ, and in *Hom.* 109 he blends Rom. xiii. 7 with 1 Pet. ii. 18, and says "It is for us to render to all their dues, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour, not only to the good, καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν, but also to the froward, καὶ τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι." Then, after citing Prov. ix. 12, he proceeds, ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ Πέτρος· οἱ νεώτεροι ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις· πάντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις κ.τ.λ. 1 Pet. v. 5. He then returns to the example of Christ. For his version of 1 Pet. v. 5 *vid. supr.*, p. 243, n. 2 (3).

[2] It is so used however in *Ep.* 3, where the writer says that the "blessed Paul" taught τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον. There is a curious parallelism between this chapter and *Hom.* 66 (περὶ ἀληθείας). For, just as in *Ep.* 3 the writer makes apology for writing περὶ δικαιοσύνης to the Philippians and pleads their action as his excuse, and just as he speaks of the τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον contained in the Epistles of S. Paul as calculated to build them up in the faith, and as he remarks upon his inability to follow the wisdom of the Apostle, so Antiochus in *Hom.* 66 makes apology for the hortatory form of his *Homilies*, and of his τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον in particular, and pleads as his excuse the request of Eustathius, and the necessity of some explanation of the Scriptures quoted by him, even as a building needs not only the greater stones but also the lesser fragments, and says that he is conscious of his own weakness. The parallelism cannot be denied, and it is singular that the phrase τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον should be used by both writers. In the *Homily* however the phrase is natural, and its precise meaning is well defined by the quotation of a text with λόγον ἀληθείας in it. On this *Homily vid. supr.* p. 243, n. 1, and for some further curious circumstances connected with *Ep.* 3, *vid. infr.* pp. 261, 278.

10 to be used in the preceding chapter and Phil. ii. 17 in *Ep.* 1. Notice again that, while in the *Epistle* there is an acknowledged difficulty in the words that follow "the blessed Paul," leading some critics to suppose that the writer confused the Epistles to the Thessalonians and the Philippians, there is here also a confusion, for Antiochus ascribes to the Philippians the words of other Epistles. However it is to be explained, the connexion here between the *Homilies* and the *Epistle* is evident. It is at the same time quite different in kind from that which has previously been pointed out. Hitherto it has been seen in whole sentences which Antiochus and the writer of the *Epistle* have in common. Here the connexion is of a more subtle kind and consists rather in a curious likeness of mind between the two writers. There is another example of this likeness of mind to be found in the words of *Ep.* 11 quoted above. The writer speaks of "avaritia" as idolatry. The Greek word is here certainly *φιλαργυρία*, but it is *πλεονεξία* that S. Paul (Col. iii. 5, Ephes. v. 5) calls idolatry. Bp. Lightfoot speaks of the repeated warnings against *φιλαργυρία* as a distinct feature in the *Epistle*. Now, it is quite as much a feature in the *Homilies*, and incidental warnings against it are frequent. *Hom.* 8, which is *περὶ φιλαργυρίας*, distinctly describes this vice as idolatry, grounding the charge however upon the words *ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ποιῶν εἴδωλον καὶ τιθεὶς ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ*, and not quoting S. Paul's words, which Antiochus does not use until he comes to *Hom.* 13 *περὶ πλεονεξίας*. This likeness in mind is an important feature in the connexion between Antiochus and the writer of the *Epistle*, and more will be said upon it hereafter.

Hom. 74 *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν.*

For the language which this *Homily* has in common with the *Epistle, vid. supr.* p. 247.

This *Homily* quotes LXX. Ps. xxxiii. 15, and is quite evidently indebted to Basil's (i. p. 142 sq.) *Homily* on this Psalm. This is shown (1) by the texts, (2) by the thoughts and language, which the two writers have in common. (1) *Hom.* 73 is very short (one column only) and has the text Prov. xxviii.

14. Basil has this text on p. 149. His previous text is LXX. Ps. cxviii. 120. This text is in *Hom.* 74. Neither of these texts is at all commonly quoted. In *Hom.* 73 Antiochus quotes Exod. iii. 5..."for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground (γῆ)," adding "which the meek inherit." On p. 145 Basil quotes S. Matt. v. 28, explains γῆ and directs attention to Moses and his meekness. Antiochus follows with Jer. ii. 13—"They left me the fountain of living water." On p. 150 Basil combines the latter part of this text with Amos viii. 11. Antiochus' use of this last text in *Hom.* 122 may be compared with that of Basil.

(2) Antiochus begins *Hom.* 74 by quoting Rom. viii. 14, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God," going on to say that if the sons of God love the daughters of men there are produced giants, that is to say all manner of pride, referring to Gen. vi. 2—5. On p. 148 Basil uses Rom. viii. 14 writing *εἴ τις οὖν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ φιλανθρώπου Πνεύματος ἀγόμενος, μὴ φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτόν κ.τ.λ.*, thus giving the same connexion of ideas. In the same column in Basil will be found *δεικτικὸς* and *συνδιαιωνίζειν*. Antiochus presently has *διαιωνίζοντα* and *δεικτικόν*. Basil uses *συνδιαιωνίζειν* in connexion with that "shame to come" which is more terrible than darkness and eternal fire. He returns to this on p. 151, where he comments on the words "*I will teach you the fear of the Lord.*" He cites the example of S. Paul and the Galatians, by name as Antiochus does here. He tells his readers what they ought to fear—the judgment seat of Christ—the Judge, the angels, the fire, the darkness, the worm, adding *εἶτα τὴν πασῶν χαλεπωτάτην κόλασιν, τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν αἰώνιον. Ταῦτα φοβοῦ, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ φόβῳ παιδευόμενος, οἱονεὶ χαλινῷ*[1] *τινὶ ἀνάκοπτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα ἐπιθυμίας...οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ ὦτα*

[1] There is a special interest belonging to this passage, various parallels to which are found elsewhere in Basil, by reason of the singularly careful elaboration of the idea in Pionius' *Life of Polycarp*. When the history of this idea is worked out it becomes evident that the passage in the *Epistle* has nothing whatever to do with it, but that its source is to be found in Philo, whose mind was stored with the language and similitudes of Plato. The subject cannot be disposed of in a note.

τῆς καρδίας ἀνεῳγμένα κ.τ.λ. Antiochus has καλὸν οὖν ἐστιν τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος[1] στρατεύεται...ἡ δὲ φιλόπονος (καρδία) θύρα ἐστὶν ἀνεῳγμένη. Further on he quotes LXX. Ps. cxviii. 120 (Basil's text), writing καθήλωσον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου. Ὁ γὰρ ἐνθυμούμενος ἀεὶ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, καὶ τὸν σκώληκα τὸν ἀκοίμητον, καὶ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, καὶ τὸν κλαυθμὸν καὶ βρυγμὸν τῶν ὀδόντων, καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἐκείνην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνώπιον ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διαλύει κ.τ.λ. The language of Basil covers that portion of the passage which Antiochus and the *Epistle* have in common, which precedes the scriptural quotation. Almost immediately after this quotation Antiochus writes εἰ οὖν ἐγινώσκομεν ὅτι πάροικοί ἐσμεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ. And it is clear that he had in mind 1 Pet. ii. 11 ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, a text that he moreover here expressly quotes, adding Col. iii. 5 νεκρώσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ., of which the ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ would seem to be an imitation. With Basil and these texts in his hands there is nothing left for Antiochus to have borrowed from the *Epistle*.

Since then the *Epistle* was not wanted for the composition of the parallel passage in the *Homily*, it will be proper to consider whether there is any thing in the context in *Ep.* 5 which can reasonably be explained by supposing that it was the writer of the *Epistle* who was the copyist.

The preceding words there are ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἴγε πιστεύομεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσιν, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἁγνείας,

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 11 with τῆς ψυχῆς altered into τοῦ πνεύματος. The reason is obvious. Antiochus begins by quoting "As many as are led by the Spirit of God," &c. He follows with the text "My Spirit shall not remain with these men for ever." He then quotes S. Paul "Having begun in the Spirit are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" and therefore naturally proceeds "It is good therefore to refrain from the lusts that are in the world, for every lust warreth against the Spirit." No such reason can be found for the alteration in the *Epistle*.

καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. *vid. supr.* p. 247.

The words εἴγε πιστεύομεν should be observed. They are not in *Hom.* 123, where the words to which they are tacked on are found (*vid. infr.* p. 268). They are not wanted, for the preceding ἀξίως includes them. They seem capable of easy explanation. The words in the *Homily* immediately preceding the parallel passage are "As also Paul saith blaming the Galatians (Gal. iii. 3), *Having begun in the Spirit are ye now made perfect by the flesh?* Καλὸν οὖν κ.τ.λ." But S. Paul proceeds τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ; εἴγε καὶ εἰκῇ. In N. T. usage εἴγε is solely Pauline, and 'if at least we have faith' well represents his argument in Gal. iii.

The words "ἄμεμπτοι—restraining themselves ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ" should also be observed. Antiochus here calls Job ἄμεμπτος. The epithet is taken from the commonly quoted description of Job in ch. i. 1 and 8. The quotation sometimes confuses this description with another in ch. iii. 3 and combines the two. It is so confused in Clem. Rom. i. 17 where the description runs Ἰὼβ δὲ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος...ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. It is evident that the writer of the *Epistle* not only had this description in mind but also Clem. Rom. i. 17, in which it is found, for he almost directly has διὸ δέον ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, and afterwards in § 6 καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν...ἀπεχόμενοι κ.τ.λ. In Clem. Rom. i. 17 are the words κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγομεν δὲ Ἠλίαν...τοὺς προφήτας. This coincidence seems to have escaped the notice of the editors of the Epistle.

It has already been shown that χαλιναγωγεῖν has been apparently borrowed in the *Epistle* from Herm. *Mand.* xii., a passage from which is here quoted. It must now be observed that, if anything reminded Antiochus of that passage, it must necessarily have been the language of Basil. For Basil's idea of using the fear of the Lord for the restraint of the lusts, an idea adopted also by Antiochus, is distinctly that of Hermas, who writes in *Mand.* xii. καὶ καθοπλισάμενος τὸν φόβον κυρίου ἀντίστηθι αὐταῖς (ἐπιθυμίαις). ὁ γὰρ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ

ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. There is no such idea in the *Epistle*.

Hom. 96 περὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾷν τὸν πλησίον.

Hom. 96 ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον μακράν ἐστιν ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας...καὶ ἐπάγει (Rom. xiii. 10)· Πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη...καί· (S. John xiii. 34) Ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους. [*Hom.* 114...ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον, μακρὰν ἔσται πάσης ἁμαρτίας.]

Ep. 3 ...δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν (cf. Jude 3 and 20)· ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν γάρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς[1] ᾖ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακράν ἐστιν πάσης ἁμαρτίας. 4. Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία· εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὁπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου.

1 Tim. vi. 7 in *Hom.* 15.

vid. infr. p. 282.

Bishop Lightfoot says that the πεπλήρωκεν of the *Epistle* is "a reminiscence of Rom. xiii. 8, 10," and Antiochus here quotes Rom. xiii. 10. The ἐντολὴ τοῦ Κυρίου of the *Epistle* again requires explanation and looks like a reminiscence of some such text as that here quoted from S. John. These facts suggest again, as it was argued on p. 250, that the writer of the *Epistle*, if not Antiochus, was his copyist. This seemingly necessary conclusion is supported by the further fact that

[1] A somewhat favorite expression with Antiochus. See *Hom.* 88 (*infr.* p. 269), 89, 113. For examples of ἐντός, πίστις μήτηρ (here in *Ep.* 3), Ephes. ii. 8 (in *Ep.* 1), and various texts that might have suggested the language of *Ep.* §§ 1, 2, see Anton. Mel. *Loc. Comm.* i.

it is possible to trace in the *Homilies* the gradual growth of that portion of the language of Antiochus which so closely resembles the closing words of *Ep.* 3 quoted above. He begins *Hom.* 57 (*περὶ τοῦ μὴ μισεῖν*) by saying that "it is written that he that loveth God loveth also his brother." Presently he quotes from Ignat. *Ephes.* 14...*οὐδεὶς γὰρ πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει· οὐδὲ ἀγάπην ἔχων μισεῖ*, adding, "as in the Proverbs it is written, that *πᾶς ὃς μισεῖ ἀδελφὸν πτωχόν, οὗτος καὶ φιλίας μακρὰν ἔσται.*" Compare Antiochus' *ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τὴν...ἀγάπην...μακρὰν ἔσται.* This is made the more noticeable from the fact that Ignatius has *ἀγάπην κεκτημένος.* Antiochus gets the *ἀγάπην ἔχων* from 1 Cor. xiii. 1 quoted in *Hom.* 57. The next stage is *Hom.* 96 *ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον μακρὰν ἐστιν ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας*, and the final *Hom.* 114 *ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον, μακρὰν ἔσται πάσης ἁμαρτίας.*

Even more interesting than this, however, is it to trace out Antiochus' relation to the remainder of the words of the *Epistle* quoted above. On *προαγούσης* Bishop Lightfoot says "'*going before,*' in reference to *ἐλπίς*, not to *πίστις*, for *πίστις* precedes *ἀγάπη*," and he compares Ign. *Ephes.* 14. This however puts some force upon the language of the *Epistle.* The writer seems rather to consider Faith as the central object in the sequence, with Love leading the way and Hope following behind. In *Hom.* 2 (*περὶ ἐλπίδος*) Antiochus speaks of Hope as holding the second place in the triad and of Love as being the first of all the virtues, though named the third. This serves to show that the sequence had occupied his mind. In *Hom.* 1 (*περὶ πίστεως*) he quotes from Ign. *Ephes.* 9 the words *ἡ δὲ πίστις ἀνθρώπου ἀγωγεύς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος γίνεται θεοφόρος, ἡγοῦν χριστοφόρος, καὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ, καὶ ἁγιοδρόμος καὶ τὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένος ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Here 'Love the way that leadeth to God' is an idea near of kin to that of 'Love going before' in the *Epistle.* It will be shown presently that the remainder of this passage from Ignatius (or rather from Antiochus' version of Ignatius) is taken up in the context of the very passage of *Hom.* 114 cited above. Now in *Hom.* 15

Antiochus quotes a long passage from *Sim.* i. in which Hermas describes the folly of the servant of God who is on his pilgrimage to a far-off city but who lays out his money in lands and houses and the like. Rather should he, he teaches, expend it in relieving the poor and in visiting the widow and orphan, and in such like works. "It is much better," he says, "to buy such fields and possessions and houses, as thou shalt find in thy city, when thou hast come home to it." These words Antiochus alters. He has previously used the word *ἐπακολουθήσωμεν*, and explained the 'city' of Hermas as *τὴν ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ*, and he says "It is much better to buy such fields and possessions *ἅτινα καὶ παράμονά εἰσι, καὶ προάγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν μητρόπολιν*" (*τὴν ἡμ. μητρόπ. τὴν ἄ. Ἰερ. ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν. Hom.* 126). Very shortly afterwards and in this same *Hom.* 15 he quotes, as the *Epistle* does, *We brought nothing into the world, it is certain we can carry nothing out.* 1 Tim. vi. 7. His 'metropolis,' the 'Jerusalem that is above,' is of course a reference to the text used in the *Epistle*, Gal. iv. 26. The coincidences here with the *Epistle* cannot be accidental, but it is very difficult to believe that the *Epistle* was first written. But if the writer of the *Epistle* was the copyist, how naturally his words *ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία* fit in. Avarice sets right against the whole teaching of Hermas. It is idolatry, and so instead of being 'a way that leadeth *to* God,' as Ignatius teaches, it leadeth *from* God. If however the thoughts in the mind of the writer of the *Epistle* are not known, one must endorse Bp. Lightfoot's remark "The mention of covetousness seems very abrupt."

It may be noted that the opening words of *Ep.* 3 quoted above resemble Jude 3 and 20. In *Hom.* 96 Antiochus quotes Jude 21. In *Hom.* 1 he has that part of Jude 3 which is seemingly used in the *Epistle*, and near the end of the *Homily* writes *λαβόντες οὖν Θεοῦ γνῶσιν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, μὴ ἀγνοήσωμεν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν χάριν*, altering the language of Ignat. *Ephes.* 17. In this *Homily* also he says that "he that runneth by faith receiveth below *τὴν ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ.*" (Gal. iv. 26.) These little coincidences point to a likeness of mind between

Antiochus and the writer of the *Epistle*, such that δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν would not have been an unlikely sentence for him to have written.

Hom. 114 περὶ τοῦ φυλάσσειν ἐντολάς.

In *Ep.* 2 are the words ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα, καὶ πορευώμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, and in § 3 ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακράν ἐστιν πάσης ἁμαρτίας. Corresponding words occur in *Hom.* 114.

Antiochus concludes *Hom.* 113 with "I came down from heaven not to do mine own will but the will of the Father who sent me (S. John vi. 38). To Him be glory for ever. Amen." At the beginning of *Hom.* 114 he draws lessons from what befell Saul and the sons of Eli, and then after quoting two texts proceeds :

ἄνδρες ἅγιοι ἔσεσθέ μοι, ἐὰν τοῖς προστάγμασί μου πορεύησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξησθε· ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν Θεός, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός, λέγει Κύριος. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα, καὶ πορευώμεθα κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ αὐτὸς ἀγαπᾷ, ναὸς αὐτοῦ γινόμεθα· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον, μακρὰν ἔσται πάσης ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἀνταγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν καταφρονῶμεν οἷδεν κολάζειν, παρακουόντων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ. Ἐάν τις ἀγαπᾷ με, τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ, καὶ ὁ Πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν· καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα, καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν. ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡ. β'. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε ζῶντος. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ Γραφή, ὅτι Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός. Bas. *Moral. Reg.* LXXX. 6. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ φιλεῖ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ πεφιλήκατε· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός· Καὶ ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας ...καθήκει δ' ἡμῖν ἀνταγαπᾶν μὲν τὸν καθηγούμενον ἀγαπητικῶς ἀρίστου βίου· βιοῦν δὲ πρὸς τὰ διατάγματα τῆς

> *αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως.* Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 3 p. 102.
>
> *ἡ δὲ πίστις...ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος γίνεται... ναὸς Θεοῦ...καὶ τὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένος ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς* 'I. X. *Hom.* 1 (*vid. supr.* p. 262).

Antiochus closes the *Homily* with "If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love, even as I also have kept the commandments of my Father and abide in His love (S. John xv. 10). To Him be glory for ever. Amen."

The mind of Antiochus here reverts to his own version of Ignatius' words in *Ephes.* 9 ("Such an one becomes *ναὸς Θεοῦ* and in all things adorned *ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς* 'I. X.") already quoted on p. 262 where his use of another part of the Ignatian passage is pointed out.

It must be observed that the language of the *Epistle* does not supply Antiochus with one single fresh thought. The "doing the will of God," and "walking according to His commandments," and "punishment on disobedience," are simply thoughts that flow from what he has himself previously said. The idea of "love" comes in from Ignatius and Basil, except in that it is "far from all sin." But the history of this phrase has just been given, and it has been shown to be the property of Antiochus. Basil's work is one of the sources from which Antiochus drew his Scriptural quotations. It is used in *Hom.* 113 and elsewhere.

Further down in this same *Homily* an indication will be found that the writer of the *Epistle* was the copyist. Antiochus begins § 2 by saying "Wherefore gird up your loins and serve the Lord (Ps. ii. 11) with fear and truth." In § 6 he returns to this and says "Thus then let us serve the Lord with fear *καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο* and the Apostles preached, and the prophets, &c." (Christ, the Apostles and Prophets). The writer's mind, that is to say, went back to § 2 and his own words, and at the same time to the authority he

was using in § 2. For Antiochus here quotes various passages from the Law and the Prophets and from S. Paul, and says τοῦτο δὲ παιδευόμεθα διὰ πάσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ὀφειλέται ἐσμέν, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ τηρεῖν ἀπαραβάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ ἡγουμένων, μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας ἀτρώτους διαφυλάττειν· φησὶν δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος· ὑμεῖς φίλοι μού ἐστε, ἃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν κ. τ. λ.

Hom. 123 περὶ διαταγῆς κλήρου.

As by far the most substantial part of the connexion between Antiochus and the *Epistle* is found in this *Homily*, and as the corresponding passages in the *Epistle* have been given in the order in which they stand in that document, it is necessary now to give the greater part of this *Homily* just as it stands.

For an outline of this *Homily* and beginning of next see *Apost. Const.* ii. 26, 27.

Ἐπόμενόν ἐστιν τοὺς ἱερεῖς μιμητὰς γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν, ὡς κἀκεῖνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ, εἰς πάντα, εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ εὔσπλαγχνον, τὸ ὁμόφρονον, τὸ ἐπιεικές, τὸ ταπεινόφρον, τὸ φιλάδελφον, τὸ φιλόπτωχον, τὸ φιλόξενον, τὸ συμπαθητικὸν εἰς πάντας, τὸ ἐλεήμονας εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντας τὰ πεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτομένους πάντα τὰ ἀσθενῆ, μὴ ἀμελοῦντας χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν ἢ πενήτων, καλὰ προνοοῦντας ἀεί, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,

For the thoughts in this *Homily* see preceding *Homilies* and in particular *Hom.* 122 περὶ ἀρχιερωσύνης, *Hom.* 111 περὶ ἡγουμένων, *Hom.* 99 περὶ τοῦ ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, *Hom.* 98 περὶ φιλοπτωχίας, *Hom.* 88 περὶ διακονίας, *Hom.* 35 περὶ καταφρονήσεως.

For beginning here cf. 1 Cor. xi. 1 quoted *Hom.* 21, which also compare.

(Laic even condemned when) μὴ μιμησάμενος Χριστόν, ὃς...ἀρχιερεύς. *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, p. 44.

Ep. 6. Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὔσπλαγχνοι,...ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας κ.τ.λ. (*vid. supr.* p. 247).

For use of this text see *Hom.* 36, 51, 98. προνοεῖ τοῦ δικαίου (genitive) *Hom.* 76.

ἀπεχομένους πάσης ὀργῆς καὶ προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, φιλαργυρίας· μὴ ταχέως ἐμπιστεύοντες κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτιῶν. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα ἀφῇ ἡμῖν, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσμὲν ὀφθαλμῶν. ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· ἐπιμελῶς διακονείτωσαν, ἵνα φύγωσιν τὴν ἀρὰν τοῦ προφήτου· μὴ διὰ τῆς ἀμελείας ὑπεύθυνοι γένωνται· μηδὲ προπετεύεσθε ἔν τινι ὡς δῆθεν θεοσεβείας χάριν, ἀλλὰ πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον. ἐπεὶ τί ἄτοπον ἐποίει ὁ Ὀζίας θυμιῶν τῷ Θεῷ; τί δὲ ὁ Σαοὺλ θύων;...ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῦ ἔστω τῆς λειτουργίας ... διανοεῖσθαι δὲ μόνα τὰ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα (Dion. Areop. *Ep.* 8)· καὶ μὴ διάβολοι, μηδὲ δίλογοι, ἀλλὰ ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς. περὶ

Common form of expression in the *Homilies* and founded on Job i. 1.

μὴ ταχέως πιστεύειν κατά τινος. Bas. *Serm. de ascet. discipl.* 1 (ii. p. 212), and cf. *Hom.* with Basil.

κρίσις ἀπότομος. Wisd. vi. 5 quoted *Sacr. Par.* ε. 18, which with 17 is used here and in *Hom.* 111, also used here.

Vid. supr. p. 248 for ὀφειλέται κ.τ.λ.

Ep. 5. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κ.τ.λ. (*vid. supr.* p. 246).

In Severus, *vid. supr.* p. 252.

ἐπιμελῶς διακονεῖν. *Hom.* 88.

διακονείτωσαν from 1 Tim. iii. 10, chapter used in *Hom.* 122 and here. Jer. xlviii. (xxxi.) 10. See *Hom.* 88 and 35.

1 Cor. xiv. 40, quoted also *Hom.* 35.

Quoted also *Hom.* 35.

ὡς γὰρ ὁ Σαοὺλ...καὶ ὡς Ὀζίας ὁ βασιλεὺς κ.τ.λ. *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, p. 44.

See 1 Tim. iii. 11, 8, 3; Tit. i. 8. Passages quoted together *Hom.* 122.

πάντας εἴσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων· ᾧ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀπολημψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ. αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν· Ἐάν τις ἐμοὶ διακονῇ, ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθείτω· καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔσται· ἐάν τις ἐμοὶ διακονῇ, τιμήσει αὐτὸν ὁ Πατήρ μου. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.	Mark ix. 35 quoted *Hom.* 111 and by Basil in *Sacr. Par.* as above. Matt. xx. 28 cited by Lightfoot, quoted also in *Hom.* 111. Cf. Ign. in *Hom.* 92. ἀπολημψ. cf. *Hom.* 89. ἀξίως πολιτευσώμεθα *Hom.* 36, and see Clem. Rom. i. 21. συμβασ. 2 Tim. ii. 12, quoted also *Hom.* 78. Quoted also *Hom.* 88.
Hom. 124. Ὁ Θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐπιστέλλει λέγων... ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῷ ὑποτασσομένῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ διακόνοις...χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. χρὴ οὖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ἡμᾶς. (*vid. supr.* p. 247.)	οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Εἰ δέ τις ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ποιεῖ τι, εἰς μάτην ποιεῖ αὐτό. *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, p. 44.

A moment's reflection upon the foregoing serves to show that here and there, where the *Homily* is independent of the *Epistle*, it cannot be understood without referring back to preceding *Homilies*. It is so with respect to the "curse of the prophet" which must be explained by *Hom.* 35 or 88. It is impossible indeed to deny that here Antiochus had *Hom.* 35 in

mind if not actually before him. The text from Jeremiah is there followed by 1 Cor. xiv. 40 and a quotation from Dionys. *Ep.* 8. All this is the very same here, though there is nothing like it in the *Epistle*. It would seem therefore to follow as a matter of course that the *ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ* which occurs in a text in *Hom.* 35 is the *ἀπέναντι τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ὀφθαλμῶν* of Antiochus in the *Homily* here, notwithstanding that these words *are* in the *Epistle*. Jeremiah's curse upon the negligent is quoted again in *Hom.* 88. This *Homily* is *περὶ διακονίας*. The curse is applied as a warning to the *διάκονοι Χριστοῦ*. It is so here in *Hom.* 123, though the Epistle has nothing like it. The parallelism between the two *Homilies* in what is said about *διάκονοι* and their future, and as to Christ being *διάκονος πάντων*, cannot be denied. In *Hom.* 88 the statements are general and diffuse, consisting mainly of texts of scripture. In *Hom.* 123 the language is compact. That is the difference. Would not the necessary conclusion seem to be that, since the language and ideas of *Hom.* 123, where they are independent of the *Epistle*, come from earlier *Homilies*, in like manner in that part of the *Homily* which refers to the deacons and their imitation of Christ "who became *διάκονος πάντων*" Antiochus is simply putting into compact form his earlier ideas? This conclusion must seem more inevitable if there can be produced, as there can, an intermediate form.

In *Hom.* 88 then Antiochus begins by saying that a minister ought *ἐπιμελῶς διακονεῖν, εἰδὼς ὅτι* (Bishop Lightfoot remarks upon Polycarp's use of this phrase) *Θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν· καὶ μὴ ἀμελεῖν ἔν τινι.* He quotes Jeremiah "cursed is the man that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." "We then," he says, "being without the curse, but within (*ἐντός*, see *Ep.* 3) the blessing *ὡς διάκονοι Χριστοῦ*, with all diligence and zeal let us fulfil our ministry that we may inherit a blessing as disciples of the blessed one who said 'Where I am my servant also shall be.'" He quotes the text "In everything commending ourselves *ὡς Θεοῦ διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ...ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας*," and another "As the servants of Christ doing His will from the heart, with good will doing service *ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις*." He quotes "For God is not unrighteous to forget your

work and love which ye showed toward His name in that ye ministered to the saints and do minister." He points to the Lord as saying "If any serve me let him follow me, and where I am there shall my servant be; if any man serve me him will my Father honour" (quoted also at the end of *Hom.* 123); and again "I am in the midst of you *ὡς ὁ διακονῶν*, for the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 28). Near the beginning of *Hom.* 89 Antiochus has *πολλαπλασίονα λήψεσθε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν αἰώνιον.* What more is wanted to cover the language of Antiochus (or the *Epistle*) with respect to the *διάκονοι*? Bp. Lightfoot says indeed, and truly, in a note to *Ep.* 5, "The instructions here given are suggested by 1 Tim. iii. 1—13 *διακόνους ὡσαύτως κ.τ.λ.*, from which passage also the words are in part borrowed." But then Antiochus quotes from that passage in *Hom.* 122, and here his *ὡσαύτως καὶ* and *διακονείτωσαν* (which are not in the *Epistle*) clearly come from 1 Tim. iii. 8, 10.

In *Hom.* 88 Antiochus does not actually use the words *διάκονος πάντων*, nor apply them to Christ as in *Hom.* 123. He does however quote Matt. xx. 28, which Bp. Lightfoot cites to justify that application in the *Epistle.* The intermediate form spoken of above can however be found in *Hom.* 111 *περὶ ἡγουμένων.* He writes *λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος· εἴ τις θέλει ἐν ὑμῖν μείζων εἶναι, ἔστω πάντων δοῦλος καὶ πάντων διάκονος* (Mk. x. 44; ix. 35). *καὶ ὁ μείζων ἐν ὑμῖν γενέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος· καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενος ὡς ὁ διακονῶν* (Luke xxii. 26). *Τύπος οὖν γίνεσθω, ὡς εἴρηται* (1 Pet. v. 3), *ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταπεινοφροσύνης· ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος λέγων* Matt. xx. 28 (again the text cited by Bp. Lightfoot). How then could he help, when gathering up his ideas in *Hom.* 123 into a compact form, but write *τῷ Κυρίῳ ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων*? It is the more noticeable in that Antiochus gives special emphasis to his idea in *Hom.* 111 by blending texts together and putting into the mouth of the Lord words which He nowhere uttered in that form. Antiochus unites *πάντων δοῦλος* and *πάντων διάκονος* because he borrows the use of Mark ix. 35 (*διάκονος πάντων*) from a passage by Basil in which *ὡς πάντων ὑπηρέτης* has just

been said; and he connects the text so formed with 1 Pet. v. 3 because in *Sacr. Par.* ϵ xvii. p. 511 this passage follows 1 Pet. v. 3, so that this text with the beginning of the said passage actually forms a coincidence with the language of Antiochus. Thus "1 Pet. v. 3...*ἀλλὰ τύπος γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου.* Basil *τὸν προεστῶτα μὴ ἐπαιρέτω τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἵνα μὴ ἐκπέσῃ τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης...ὡς πάντων ὑπηρέτης...* Mk. ix. 35": that is to say the words of Antiochus combine 1 Pet. v. 3 with the beginning and end of the passage from Basil, while in the *Sacr. Par.* this passage immediately follows the text. Luke xxii. 26, also used here, occurs earlier in *Sacr. Par.* ϵ xvii., and the use of this *Title* in *Hom.* 111 is plain.

In *Hom.* 111 the *διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ* are spoken of. In *Hom.* 78 (*περὶ ὑπομονῆς*) Antiochus quotes 2 Tim. ii. 12 *εἰ ὑπομένομεν καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν,* and so naturally (*vid. supr.* p. 268) uses this text here in *Hom.* 123.

The language of Antiochus in this *Homily* can be so thoroughly illustrated out of preceding *Homilies* that one is necessarily struck by the fact that there is a short passage which cannot be so dealt with. He says "Likewise also the deacons ought to be blameless before His righteousness as the deacons of God and Christ, and not of men." In the first place Antiochus nowhere in any language of his own gives *διάκονος* its technical meaning. With him *διάκονος* is simply a "minister" or "servant." In the next place Antiochus supplies no parallel to the expression "before His righteousness." In the third place he nowhere else combines the two expressions "servants of God," "servants of Christ," or has the form *Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ.* The passage is thus marked off as it were by a broad line from the rest of the *Homily.* This significant fact is to be explained by the circumstance that this passage only of all that the *Homily* has in common with the *Epistle* is found, as has already been said (p. 252), in Severus, and has apparently been copied by Antiochus from that source. It has also been pointed out that Antiochus did the very same thing in *Hom.* 21 where he used the excerpt given by Timotheus as from Clement's First Epistle on Virginity. The fact which meets us here with respect to the excerpt of Severus meets us there also with

respect to the excerpt from Timotheus. The words in which he manipulates the excerpt in *Hom.* 21 cannot be illustrated out of previous *Homilies.* The phrase "Glory of Virginity," which has such special emphasis given to it in *Ep. ad Virg.* i. 5, 6, is not used elsewhere. The form *τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον*, which is in Timotheus but *not* in *Ep. ad Virg.*, he uses in *Hom.* 92, but in an Ignatian text. The *Epistles to Virgins* in their Greek form were written either by Antiochus or by some one copying him. Is it not then reasonable to think that Antiochus and the writer of the *Epistle*, if a different person, would remember when writing or dealing with *Hom.* 123 what had been written in *Hom.* 21? It would seem that this is exactly what has happened. In the case of Antiochus it is very clear. In *Hom.* 21 he writes *ἐκ τούτου γνῶθι τὴν δόξαν τῆς παρθενίας* (thus far Timotheus). *οἱ γὰρ ἀφιερούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, μιμηταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γίνονται· φησὶν γάρ· Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.* The parallelism with the opening words of *Hom.* 123 cannot be mistaken. Antiochus speaks of Christ as *ἀρχιερεύς*, and so does the passage (also from Polycarp) which precedes the excerpt borrowed from Timotheus and which follows the excerpt borrowed from Severus. In *Hom.* 21, a little above the words cited, Antiochus directs the virgin *δουλεύειν Θεῷ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀρέσκειν...ἵνα καταλάβῃς τῆς ἐναρέτου πολιτείας τὴν δόξαν. ἀγώνισαι νομίμως ἀθλῆσαι, ἵνα τὸν στέφανον...ἀπολαύῃς, καὶ στεφανηφόρος ἀπέλθῃς πρὸς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ* (Gal. iv. 26). Syncellus (Chron. p. 10) speaks of the *τὴν ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν* of the Sons of Seth whom the devil induced to take to themselves wives of the daughters of men (all one sentence), and on p. 11 quotes out of the book of Enoch *καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ μόνος ὀφειλέτης ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης.* In *Hom.* 22 Antiochus has *ἀποτίσεις τὸ ὄφλημα ἢ ἁμαρτίᾳ μεγάλῃ...παραδοθείς*, which must be a recollection. In *Hom.* 18 on a kindred subject he alters a text so as to bring in *ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης* and quotes a text with the words (*vid. infr.* p. 275) *περιπατεῖ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀμώμως.* In *Hom.* 123 the words *ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτιῶν* actually occur. What is the crown of which Antiochus speaks in the passage quoted from *Hom.* 21? Is it not that *τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον* of which S. Peter

speaks 1. ch. v. 2—4? But these verses are quoted at the close of *Hom.* 122. Plainly then in *Hom.* 123, when introducing the excerpt from Severus, his mind goes back to *Hom.* 21 (and its neighbourhood) where he introduces the excerpt from Timotheus.

How then does the case stand with respect to the *Epistle*?

In *Hom.* 21, having quoted from Timotheus, Antiochus says "Be ye therefore followers of me as I also am of Christ." This is taken up in *Hom.* 123. But the words naturally suggest Ephes. v. 1 "Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children, *καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ*[1]." *Ep.* 5, 6 are quoted on p. 246. It will be observed that the word *περιπατεῖν* occurs twice (not elsewhere in the *Epistle*). The word ends the sentences which immediately precede the remarks upon the "deacons" and "presbyters" respectively. These sentences do not form part of the language which Antiochus has in common with the *Epistle*. It is at these two points that the writer of the *Epistle*, if the copyist, would have recourse to *Hom.* 123. The word *περιπατεῖν* points to the fact that on the second occasion his mind reverted to what he had been thinking of on the first. This word does not stand alone however, for the *διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ* at the end of § 5 is an obvious repetition of the *ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι* at the beginning of § 5 in the excerpt found in Severus. As the writer brings in his remarks upon the presbyters and rounds off the previous sentence the thoughts, it is plain, with which his mind was busy when he began to speak of the deacons come back to him. The different order of these remarks in *Hom.* 123 upon the deacons and the higher order in the ministry supplies the reason. That this—that the writer of the *Epistle* is the copyist—is the true reason is shown by some other circumstances. On looking again at *Ep.* 5, 6 quoted on p. 246 sq. it will be seen that *ὀφείλομεν* is found in both sections, and that in both cases *εἰδότες ὅτι* stands a little above. The word *ὀφείλομεν* does not occur elsewhere in the *Epistle*. The parallel columns on p. 267 show the reason

[1] The preceding verse is "And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you," the spirit of which is obviously taken over into *Hom.* 123.

of this. The writer of the *Epistle*, having *Hom.* 123 before him when introducing the remarks upon the deacons in § 5, actually saw, immediately above those remarks in the *Homily*, what he afterwards took over into § 6, and no doubt unconsciously introduced εἰδότες ὅτι followed by ὀφείλομεν into the sentence with which he himself prefaced the passage on the deacons. In like manner when bringing in the remarks on the presbyters in § 6 he had the beginning of *Hom.* 123 ἐπιστρέφοντας τὰ πεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτομένους πάντα τὰ ἀσθενῆ, before him and the close of *Hom.* 122. It is evident from *Hom.* 122 that πρόβατα has to be supplied. Antiochus has moreover spoken of πάντα ὑγιῆ. The writer of the *Epistle* writes τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα but, inconsistently, πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, knowing that the explanation does not come to the mind so readily in this case as in the other. This inconsistency was long ago felt, for Junius (in Jacobson) writes: "Forte τοὺς ἀποπεπλανημένους. Nisi forte πρόβατα intelligatur, quod duriusculum videtur, quum statim sequitur πάντας ἀσθενεῖς in genere masculino." Antiochus, with his mind busy with what he had previously said, naturally wrote as he did. If on the contrary he had been intent on copying out the language of some one else he would no doubt have either copied exactly or else have made the alteration suggested by Junius. All these circumstances are in harmony with one another and point irresistibly to the conclusion that the writer of the *Epistle*, if not Antiochus himself, was his copyist.

This last paragraph has been a necessary digression. The question asked on p. 273 has now to be answered. Antiochus when introducing the excerpt from Severus into *Hom.* 123 bethought himself of what he said in *Hom.* 21 when using in it the excerpt from Timotheus. How then does the case stand with respect to the writer of the *Epistle*?

Looking back to what has been produced (p. 272) out of *Hom.* 21 and neighbouring *Homilies*, there will be seen the τὴν δόξαν τῆς παρθενίας, the τῆς ἐναρέτου πολιτείας τὴν δόξαν, the "crown" presumably τῆς δόξης of which S. Peter speaks in verses quoted at the end of *Hom.* 122, and the text περιπατεῖ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀμώμως. The two sentences of the *Epistle* ending

with *περιπατεῖν* (see last paragraph) are these: *εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν*, and *καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ* (from Severus), *τὰς παρθένους ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν*.

In the first part of these the noticeable point is the *δόξης*. What is "to walk worthy of *His* Glory"? Is it the "glory that shall be revealed" (1 Pet. v. 1) in which the faithful shall partake? S. Paul speaks of "walking worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called," a calling which S. Peter (I. v. 10) describes as "unto His eternal glory." To "walk worthy" of the "crown of glory" (1 Pet. v. 4) is intelligible enough; and observe that, while S Peter's next words are *ὁμοίως νεώτεροι*, no sooner has the writer of the *Epistle* copied out the passage relating to the deacons than he proceeds *ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι*. The noticeable point then in the first part of the sentence is *δόξα*. There is however something else to be observed. The words immediately preceding this sentence are *καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας*. Critics say, "compare Ignat. *Ephes.* 15 *οὐδὲν γὰρ λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ εἰσιν*," and rightly, for it happens that this passage is quoted by Antiochus in *Hom.* 22.

The second of the sentences drops into the *Epistle* from the clouds, as it were, so abrupt and contrary to the sequence of ideas is the mention of the "virgins." The leading thought of this is *παρθενία*, while the principal feature in the first is *δόξα*. Attention to each is called by the words of the excerpt from Timotheus *γνῶθι τὴν δόξαν τῆς παρθενίας*. In this second sentence the *ἀμώμῳ...περιπατεῖν* may be compared with the *περιπατεῖ...ἀμώμως* above (p. 272) referred to. It is to be remembered that in this second sentence the writer's mind goes back to the thoughts that were present with him when he wrote the first. All these points have their ready and natural explanation if the writer of the *Epistle* was the copyist, and still more naturally if Antiochus was himself the writer.

This feature in the *Epistle*, viz. the recurrence of the writer's mind to his previous thoughts, is capable of further interesting

illustration. The expression just noticed λέληθεν οὐδὲν (οὐδὲν λανθάνει, Ignatius) occurs again once, and once only in the *Epistle*. It occurs in § 12 and, as one might expect, if the foregoing argument is of value, just where the writer introduces a passage which stands, as an excerpt from Polycarp, both in Severus and Timotheus. The Greek of that and the preceding section is lost, but the Latin has been translated into Greek by Zahn and Bp. Lightfoot. The writer, speaking of Valens and his wife, says that they are not to be counted as enemies, "sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate (καὶ πλανώμενα ἐπιστρέψατε, Light.) ut omnium vestrum corpus salvetis (ἵνα ὅλον ὑμῶν τὸ σῶμα σώζητε, Zahn). Hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos aedificatis. 12. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis (γραφαῖς[1] Light., Zahn), et nihil vos latet (οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, Light., οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς λανθάνει, Zahn); mihi autem non est concessum (ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται, Light. and Zahn). Modo, ut his scripturis (γραφαῖς, Zahn, Light.) dictum est, *Irascimini et nolite peccare*, et *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram*. Beatus, qui meminerit, quod ego credo esse in vobis. Deus autem et pater" &c., as in Severus and Timotheus. It is clear enough here that the writer's mind when introducing this excerpt has gone back to the ἐπιστρέφοντας τὰ πεπλανημένα...ἀπεχομένους πάσης ὀργῆς ...μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, which in *Hom.* 123 precede the excerpt from Severus as to the deacons. The "nihil vos latet" is a recollection again of Ignatius quoted, as has been shown, in *Hom.* 22. The next *Homily* is περὶ ὀργῆς, and the texts quoted here as distinct texts, as the "et" suggests, are quoted there also separately. There is also here another note of connexion with *Hom.* 123, though not so readily to be observed. Antiochus quotes (*vid. supr.* p. 267) out of Dionysius ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῇ

[1] The translators use here γραφαῖς twice. The Latin suggests the use of two words. The "nihil vos latet," though a recollection of Ignatius, may none the less be a remembrance of ἐντεθύμημαι γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐγώ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ σὴ καλοκἀγαθία κοινῶς μεμαθήκαμεν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βέλτιστα γράμματα. ἑκάτεροι δὲ διεξήλθομεν τὰς ἁγίας καὶ θεοπνεύστους γραφάς, καὶ ἐλάνθανε μέν σε τότε οὐδέν κ.τ.λ. Bas. *Ep.* 41. Besides the verbal coincidences, the irony of Basil's contrasted persons—Julian and himself—should be noticed. That irony is not wanting in the *Epistle*. Basil uses 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15, 16.

τάξει αὐτοῦ ἔστω τῆς λειτουργίας. A few lines above these words Dionysius himself has οὐ προστεταγμένον αὐτῷ παρὰ βασιλέως. The writer of the *Epistle* is considered by all critics to have been a most diligent student of Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, and he would necessarily remember ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως...ἐπιτελεῖ, § 37. The closing words of this section and the beginning of the next read thus: εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα. 38. σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, where σῶμα is the Church addressed as in the "omnium vestrum corpus salvetis" of the *Epistle* here. Putting all things together it seems very plain that the writer of the *Epistle*, when introducing the second passage from Severus and Timotheus, did call to mind the thoughts with which his mind had been busy when copying in the previous passage from Severus.

It is time now to return to *Ep.* 5, 6 and *Hom.* 123. The words of Dionysius actually quoted by Antiochus have another parallel in Clement in § 41 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων... πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοπηθέν κ.τ.λ. This is one of the examples of the use of συνείδησις which Jacobson cites in illustration of the ἐν ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν in *Ep.* 5. With the next words of Clement compare ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται in the closing sentence of *Ep.* 4. Just above the passage quoted from Dionysius the word προπηλακίζειν occurs, and it appears also earlier in the same section. In *Ep.* 3 that word is used. Προεπηλακίσασθε is without doubt the reading which the MSS. favour. Jacobson remarks that everybody can see that the word as used in the *Epistle* is absurd, and consequently he and other editors follow Halloix in writing προεπεκαλέσασθε, a word of the use of which the Lexicons give no examples. But the emendation, even if it be allowed to be a happy one, does not alter the fact that προεπηλακίσασθε is the reading supported by the MSS. In the first passage in which Dionysius uses the word he has σὺ δὲ.. προεπηλάκιζες...καὶ...μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ εἰσεπήδησας. In *Ep.* 3 the writer says ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας

γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης[1], ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προεπηλακίσασθέ με. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγώ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ...Παύλου· ὃς...ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον, ὃς...ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς, εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ. In the second passage in which Dionysius uses the word he says καίτοι οὔτε εἶδες, οὔτε ἤκουσας, οὔτε ἔχεις τι τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν λογίων ἔγνωκες, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας αὐτὰ λογομαχῶν ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων, with προπηλακίζειν in the next sentence. He here quotes 2 Tim. ii. 14, and, as a contrast to the presumptuous person whom he was addressing, has in mind 2 Tim. iii. 15, "But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them, and that from a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν κ.τ.λ." This may be compared with the *Epistle*, and the striking contrast the writer has given in connexion with his use of προπηλακίζειν must be noticed just as if he had in mind 2 Tim. ii. 15 "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας." Compare with the *Epistle*, and notice what has been pointed out on p. 256, n. 2 as to the singular relation of this *Ep.* 3 to Antiochus. Observe further that it is 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15, 16 that is used by Basil in the passage quoted in the note to p. 276, and which has such a curious similarity to *Ep.* 12; and yet again that it is to the opening words of *Ep.* 3 quoted above that Zahn points to justify his translation of "mihi autem non est concessum" in *Ep.* 12, writing "Polycarpum jam redire ad ea, quae III, 1 sui excusandi causa dixerat, neminem fugit." These are other links in the connexion between *Ep.* 12 and *Hom.* 123, because it is through the quotation of Dionysius in that *Homily* that these further facts are brought to light.

It has been shown (p. 269) that Antiochus apparently derived his ἀπέναντι τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ὀφθαλμῶν in *Hom.* 123 (and in *Ep.* 6) from a text in *Hom.* 35. There is an interesting

[1] Comp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 95 (p. 90, 22) σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ quoted by Stephens in his *Thesaurus.*

circumstance connected with the words as they stand in the *Epistle*. The writer without pause follows on with *καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι*, combining, that is, Rom. xiv. 10 with v. 12. Now in *Hom.* 123 exactly at this point Antiochus deprecates hasty and harsh judgments because we are all sinners and need forgiveness. His words may be described as a summary of *Hom.* 49 (*περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατακρίνειν*), and he there says that we should mourn and weep over our own shortcomings and pray God to cleanse us, and have a fellow-feeling with our brethren, for in these things God is well pleased, and he immediately adds Rom. xiv. 10, combining vv. 12, 13 with it. In the preceding *Homily* he also uses the same combination of texts (vv. 10, 12) and has *ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ* as the *Epistle* has. He uses along with those verses Heb. iv. 13. Strange to say, this last text is supposed by Routh, Jacobson and other critics to be used in the closing lines of *Ep.* 4, and to its use there followed by Gal. vi. 7 a most remarkable coincidence belongs.

In *Hom.* 122 Antiochus tells the story of S. John and the robber. This narrative is given by Anastasius and by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 23) out of Clement of Alexandria. Antiochus however ascribes it to Irenaeus. This false statement may be attributed to forgetfulness, or inadvertence—for the name of Irenaeus appears in Eusebius' context—or to a desire to mislead. Any way it is worth while to consult more authorities than one.

Anastasius gives the narrative in *Orat. in Ps.* vi. p. 1105 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxix.). The words immediately preceding are *καὶ προσέφυγε καὶ ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἠξιώθη φιλανθρωπίας παρ' αὐτοῦ*. The expression *προσφεύγειν εἰς τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς* is not quite unique. Compare Clem. Rom. i. 20 *εὐεργετῶν...τοὺς προσπεφευγότας* ("Altogether a late and somewhat rare word," Light.) *τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.* 21. *Ὁρᾶτε, ἀγαπητοί, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ αἱ πολλαὶ γένωνται εἰς κρίμα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι* ("a passage

which Polycarp evidently has in his mind," Light. on *Ep.* 5) *τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. λέγει γάρ που· Πνεῦμα Κυρίου λύχνος ἐρευνῶν τὰ ταμιεῖα τῆς γαστρός. Ἴδωμεν πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν* ("This passage is copied by Polycarp *Phil.* 4," Light.) *τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα.* The reason for quoting this passage at length will be seen immediately.

Anastasius says that he took the narrative from Clement of Alexandria, and in *Q. D. S.* 42 p. 958 it will be found. Clement's words *immediately preceding* are as follows, and the words *immediately preceding* that portion of the *Epistle* which is found in *Hom.* 123 are placed alongside.

Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται, οὐδὲ προσέχει κενοῖς ῥήμασι· μόνος γὰρ ἀνακρίνει μυελοὺς καὶ νεφροὺς καρδίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ κατακούει, καὶ τῶν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κήτους ἱκετεύοντων ἐξακούει, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγγύς ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσι, καὶ πόρρω τοῖς ἀθέοις ἂν, μὴ μετανοήσωσιν. Clem. Alex. p. 958.

γινωσκούσας (χήρας) ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε λογισμῶν, οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας. 5. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν.

The use of Galat. vi. 7 by both writers is evident. The combination of Heb. iv. 12, 13 by Clement seems also plain. Routh, Jacobson, having regard to *μωμοσκοπεῖται* as well as the rest of the passage, and others, consider Heb. iv. 13 to be used here in the *Epistle.* The parallel passage in Clem. Rom. i. 21 is presently followed in the same section by *ἐρευνητὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων,* words which in the opinion of Bishop Westcott (*Ep. Heb.* p. 103) supply "a remarkable parallel" to Heb. iv. 12. Is it not too strange to be the result of accident that by simply looking to one of two sources from which Antiochus might have derived the narrative concerning S. John and the robber, which he erroneously ascribes to Irenaeus in *Hom.* 122, an inquirer should be taken straight to a striking coincidence with the language of Clem. Rom. i. 20, which immediately

precedes language in § 21 said by various scholars to be used in the *Epistle*, partly in the sentences preceding the portion of the *Epistle* found in *Hom.* 123, and partly in that portion itself? This is sufficiently strange, but how much more when by looking at another possible source of the narrative the inquirer is taken straight to a remarkable coincidence in the use of Gal. vi. 7 with Heb. iv. 12, 13, so used in the *Epistle* and in the same portion of it as before. One of the most interesting features of the whole coincidence is the connexion of ideas which may be seen when the language of Clement of Alexandria is placed alongside of Clem. Rom. i. 21 quoted above. This connexion is however best seen in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 17, p. 611 where the words of Clem. Rom. i. 21 are supposed to be copied. Clement writes *λέγει γάρ που ἡ γραφή,* Πνεῦμα Κυρίου (Wisd. i. 7) *λύχνος, ἐρευνῶν τὰ ταμεῖα τῆς γαστρός. καὶ ὅσῳ τις δικαιοπραγῶν γνωστικώτερος γίνεται, προσεχέστερον τούτῳ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ φωτεινόν· οὕτως ἐγγίζει τοῖς δικαίοις ὁ Κύριος, καὶ οὐδὲν λέληθεν* (Wisd. i. 8) *αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ τῶν διαλογισμῶν* (*λογισμῶν* Wisd. i. 5, and so the *Epistle*) *ὧν ποιούμεθα· τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν λέγω, τὸν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ θελήματι ἐπίσκοπον* (Wisd. i. 7) *τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν· οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἡγιάσθη. Ἐντραπῶμεν* (Wisd. ii. 10) *οὖν τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.* There are various points of resemblance between the language of Clement here and in *Q. D. S.*, and not least of all in that Wisd. i. 6, certainly used in the one case, may be also used in the other. The words of Wisdom are *ὅτι τῶν νεφρῶν αὐτοῦ μάρτυς ὁ Θεός, καὶ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος ἀληθής, καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἀκουστής.* Presently (p. 959) he has *τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος*, which looks like a recollection of the same verse. Antiochus seems to have observed this, for in *Hom.* 122 he writes *ὡς ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τοῦ* (*τῷ?*) *ἐν οὐρανοῖς τοῦτο ποιῶν.* The use of Wisdom in Clem. Alex. on p. 611 sq. and the necessary conclusion to be drawn therefrom seems to have escaped the notice of critics. A very considerable portion, it must be observed, of *Ep.* 4, besides the words quoted above, is supposed to have been derived from Clem. Rom. i. 21. If it was so the writer did not neglect to consult Clem. Alex., who (p. 612) in the midst of the parallel language writes *μακάριος γὰρ ὃς ἂν*

διδάσκῃ καὶ ποιῇ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου κατ' ἀξίαν. This is plainly represented in *Ep.* 4 by διδάξωμεν (*vid. supr.* p. 261) ἑαυτούς πρῶτον πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., but there is nothing answering to it in Clem. Rom. i. 21.

There remains now but one point to be illustrated in the words from the close of *Ep.* 4 quoted above. This may be done as before by simply consulting the authorities used by Antiochus in *Hom.* 123. The language of Dionysius (*vid. supr.* p. 277) took us to Clem. Rom. i. 41 τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοπηθὲν κ.τ.λ. But the application of θυσιαστήριον to widows was not found there. In *Hom.* 123 however Antiochus uses *Apost. Const.* ii. 26, 27, p. 44, and on that page the writer says αἵ τε χῆραι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λελογίσθωσαν ὑμῖν. This idea falls in exactly with his line of exposition, and is indeed required, for having expounded the sacrifices, first-fruits, tithes, high priests, priests and levites it was hardly possible for him to pass the altar by without notice. But observe, the idea stands perfectly alone in the *Epistle* without one single other idea in harmony with it.

The subject is far from being exhausted, but enough has been brought forward to show the connexion between the *Homilies* of Antiochus and the *Epistle* of Polycarp in a variety of different lights. Substantial passages have been shown which the two have in common, and in addition to them coincidences of every sort and kind. It is impossible that Antiochus can have been a mere copyist because the connexion is far too close, and while the *Homilies* might have inspired the *Epistle*, they could not have been inspired by it. It is conceivable that the writer of the *Epistle*, having a definite object in view, may have compiled the spurious document out of the pages of Antiochus. But by far the most probable theory is that Antiochus was himself its author. This theory accounts for the evident closeness of the connexion, giving a reason for the lesser coincidences as well as for those of greater weight. It accounts for the fact that just as the passage which *Hom.* 123 has in common with the *Epistle* and Severus (*vid. supr.* p. 271), *not being Antiochus' own language*, cannot be illustrated out of other *Homilies*, so

also is it with the other passages which the *Epistle* has in common with the Syriac writers and Eusebius, and which remain untouched by any of the parallels and coincidences which have been given. It explains, also, as no other theory can, the marvellous likeness of mind between the writer of the *Homilies* and the writer of the *Epistle*. This likeness of mind consists not merely, nor chiefly, in those particulars which have already been brought to light (*vid. supr.* pp. 257, 263), but in far graver matters. Bp. Lightfoot (i. p. 595) speaks of the contrast between the writer of the *Epistle* and Ignatius. He points to the absence in the *Epistle* of any constant stress put upon the "blood of Christ." Allowing for the greater bulk of the *Homilies* there is no more stress in this respect in them than in the *Epistle*. Antiochus does speak of 'the blood of Christ' in *Hom.* 117, and one is reminded of the *Epistle* both by what he *does* say there, and in the neighbourhood, and by what he *does not* say. He begins the *Homily* with τοῦ ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφειλέται (*vid. supr.* p. 248, n. 1) ἐσμέν. And he uses the same expression further on. In the following *Homily* he cites the familiar Ps. ii. 11 (*vid. supr.* p. 254) and treats it with some emphasis. In the preceding *Homily* he quotes Ignat. *Ephes.* 10 used, as Bp. Lightfoot suggests, in *Ep.* 10, and he uses what he quotes for the same purpose as the writer of the *Epistle*, viz. to induce his readers by gentle means to win over those who are guilty of πλεονεξία. But the silence of *Hom.* 117 (περὶ εὐχαριστίας) no less reminds one of the *Epistle*. In it Antiochus does not say one word as to the Holy Eucharist, and there is there, as indeed throughout the *Homilies*, that "entire absence of sacramental language" which Bishop Lightfoot points to as a striking contrast between the *Epistle* and the Ignatian *Letters*. The Bishop speaks too, of course, of the absence of Episcopacy in the *Epistle*. The *Homilies* are quite as remarkable in this respect. Antiochus *himself* never uses the word 'bishop'. It occurs in *Hom.* 122 where he is borrowing from the story of S. John and the Robber. It occurs in quotations from Ignatius at the beginning of *Hom.* 124, and as if to free himself from the charge of using it himself he for the first and only time in the *Homilies* mentions the name of Ignatius as the author of his quotations. This is the more

noticeable from the circumstance that only once besides does he name any writer, outside of Scripture, as the person to whom he is indebted, and then he is wrong (*vid. supr.* p. 279). He has the words ἱερεύς, ἀρχιερεύς, but the person in his mind is a ποιμήν or ἡγούμενος. He even coins the word ἀρχιεράρχης, but his functions are determined only by quoting what S. Paul says to Timothy, Titus and the Ephesians in the Acts about ἐπίσκοποι. Of the laying on of hands and the administration of the Sacraments he says nothing. Then, too, his likeness of mind to the writer of the *Epistle* in the matter of the 'deacons' is simply amusing. He uses the word as a title where the *Epistle* has it, namely in the passage found also in Severus. He does not have the passage at the close of *Ep.* 5, where the critics suppose the reference to 'presbyters and deacons' to have been borrowed from Ignatius, but then he does have the passages from Ignatius which are supposed to have been copied. Neither he nor the writer of the *Epistle* anywhere else uses 'deacon' as a title. Thus then the likeness of mind between Antiochus and the writer of the *Epistle* is found in things great as well as in things small. The theory that Antiochus was himself the writer of the *Epistle* explains everything. Nor must it be forgotten that Antiochus' avowed purpose in writing his *Homilies*, a purpose fulfilled in each, was to arrange the teaching of Holy Scripture under various heads. Some *Homilies* (e.g. 76) contain little else but texts of Scripture. Consequently a pretended early Christian document from the pen of such a man would be likely to produce in the mind of the careful reader the impression which Bishop Lightfoot thus describes: "The profuseness of quotations in Polycarp's Epistle arises from want of originality. The thoughts and words of others are reproduced with little or no modification, because the writer's mind is receptive and not creative" (i. p. 597).

Of the foregoing pages then this is the sum. When the *Homilies* and the *Epistle* are placed side by side and tested by the method laid down by Bishop Lightfoot for determining which of two writings is the earlier, it appears that the *Homilies* preceded the *Epistle*. If inquiry be made as to the authorship of the *Epistle* it must be answered that, while it is conceivable

that the writer of it may have been a different person, yet that the weight of evidence is on the side of the theory that Antiochus was himself the author.

This is not the place to produce other arguments which show the spuriousness of the *Epistle*, but they may be found readily enough.

JOS. M. COTTERILL.

NOTES ON THE SCHOLIA OF AESCHYLUS.

In the Medicean scholia (ed. Wecklein);

Ag. 196 *μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,*
ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων].
196 *περισσεύει τὸ πνεῦμα* (πν εῦμα sic).

There is no *πνεῦμα* in the text to be 'superfluous'. Lest it be conceived that the note refers in any way to *συμπνέων*, correct, *περισσεύει τὸ τινα*, cf. sch. Hom. A. 511, 522 etc. τινα was mistaken for πνα, the familiar compendium of the Christian word *πνεῦμα*.

Cho. 445 *ἄφερκτος*]
κατάκλειστος περὶ τὴν εἱρκτήν.

One of the countless instances of confusion (through compendium) of *περὶ* and *παρά*. As it stands the note is meaningless. Read *κατάκλειστος, παρὰ τὴν εἱρκτήν*: a regular form of expression, as e.g. Theb. 195 *ἀρχαῖα*] sch. M *βασιλικά, παρὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.*

Pers. 117 *μελαγχίτων φρὴν*]. Wecklein gives

ἡ συνετή (Gl.) (*ἡ συννεφής* Kirchhoff).—*μελαγχίτων: πενθήρης, ἢ ἀμφιμέλαινα· ἔστι δὲ παρὰ τὸ "σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξῃς"* (Hom. A. 243).

Kirchhoff's alteration is mistaken; cf. E. M. *μέλαινα: σημαίνει...καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν, ὅθεν καὶ, φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι·* and Hesych. *ἀμφιμέλαινα: βαθεῖα. συνετή.*

Theb. 65 *καὶ τόνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ·*] Wecklein gives

τουτέστι μὴ ἐκπέσῃς τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ (*καιροῦ* delet O. Hense).

Let *καιροῦ* stand. Cf. Fr. Com. adesp. 248 (Kock) from Stob. fl. 36. 5: *λῃρεῖς ἐν οὐ δέοντι καιρῷ φιλοσοφῶν.* So in scholl.; Pind. P. x. 5 *τί κομπέω παρὰ καιρόν;*]...*κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν κομπῶ· οἱ δὲ οὕτως ὑφ' ἕν· τί κομπῶ καὶ φλυαρῶ παρὰ τὸν δ. κ.*,...Pind. O. vi. 47 *ἐλθεῖν ἐν ὥρᾳ*] *ἐν δέοντι καιρῷ...*

In the later scholia (ed. Dindorf);

P. V. 807 sch. O. *ἀφ' ὧν τῶν δένδρων ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ δείματα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγραφον...*

'*δείματα*] Sic codex' says Dindorf. Read *δέρματα*. In the Thesaurus is given an example of the same error, Dem. 1200. 25 *ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὑτοῦ δέρματι τὸν ἔλεγχον διδόναι*, where '*τῷ δείματι* r' Bekker.

Theb. 1014 *ἁρπαγὴν κυσίν*] *τροπὴν* sch. B. Read *τροφήν*.

WALTER HEADLAM.

ON LUCRETIUS V 703 AND THE VERB *DESURGERE*.

ALL texts with which I am acquainted read, with the MSS, in Lucretius V 703

qui faciunt solem certa desurgere parte.

If this be right, it is very strange that Lucretius in, I believe, the only passage where he expresses the common idea 'the sun rises' should have used a rare verb which occurs, in this sense, nowhere else in Classical Latin.

Editors treat this rare compound as equivalent to *surgere de*, and cite as a parallel Hor. *Serm.* II 2 77; which I will quote with its full context, beginning at l. 71 'in primis ualeas bene. nam uariae res | ut noceant homini, credas, memor illius escae | quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis | miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis, | dulcia se in bilem uertent stomachoque tumultum | lenta feret pituita. uides ut pallidus omnis | cena desurgat dubia?' That the words *desurgat cena* here imply more than *surgat de cena* is shown by their neighbours 'bilem,' 'stomachoque tumultum,' 'pallidus omnis.' Light is thrown on them by a phrase in Plautus, *Curcul.* 362, where Curculio is describing how he got away with the soldier of fortune Therapontigonus's ring. After they had been eating and drinking together, the soldier falls asleep. The parasite takes advantage of the opportunity: ego ei subduco anulum, | deduco pedes de lecto clam ne miles sentiat. | rogant me serui quo eam: dico me ire quo saturi solent'. At some time or other the verb entered into the medical vocabulary in the sense of 'surgere ad exonerandum uentrem'. Thus it is used by Scribonius Largus, a contemporary of the Emperors Tiberius

and Claudius, in his pharmacopoeia, *comp. medicamentorum* 14 2, 'tenesmus est irritatio ultimae partis intestini directi in quo saepius lubet desurgere'. So ib. 140 and Plin. *n. h.* 28 § 211. That this sense is equally proper in the passage of Horace and improper in the passage of Lucretius, will not be denied.

I propose to remove the grotesque disfigurement by severing what the copyists have joined together, thus:

qui faciunt solem certa de surgere parte.

This separation of a preposition from its case is amply illustrated by Munro on Luer. I 841. An exact counterpart of the present instance is VI 855 'supera de reddere parte'.

Since the above was in type, I have accidentally discovered that the proposed reading is in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* by W. S. Walker, whose preface is dated XVI Kal. Dec. MDCCCXXVII. Walker has also anticipated my correction of Catullus CVII 3 carior auro Lesbia. I take the opportunity of restoring to their owners ede hoc | audacter id. LV 15, Scaliger, and maritum id. LXVI 15, B. Schmidt.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES ON THE VATICAN GLOSSARY 3321
(continued).

Page 135 15 (Goetz). Add the word *pactorium* (=*plantatorium*) to the lexicons.

135 20 *Palaestra luctator vel ubi* (luctatorum ubi *c*) *athletae exercent.* Read *luctatorium ubi.*

135 34 *Paulus requies.* Read perhaps [*pausa*] *requies: paulus* [*pusillus*].

136 1 *Pagae memoriae sine idolis.* The key to this may perhaps be looked for in Isid. 17 66 *nemus...quia pagani ibi idola consecrabant.*

136 8 *Pancra rapina. Pancra*, which several glosses repeat, is accepted by Löwe in his Prodromus and by Lucian Müller in his note on *impancrare*, Nonius p. 59 Mercier. It has been connected with *παγκράτιον*; but I am more disposed to regard it as a Latin corruption of *πανθήρα* in the sense of *a haul:* see the lexicons. *Rapina* is used in a concrete sense by Martial 10 87 18 *aequorum rapinas. Pancra* would stand for *pantra* as *anclo* for *ἀντλῶ*, and the change of quantity would be parallel to that from *ἄγκῡρα* to *ancŏra.* Gloss. Epin. 19 A 23 has *parena* for *pancra.*

136 16 *Paniseum qui pedibus in diversis tendentibus ambulat.* Read *pansam*, and *in diversa.*

136 17 *Pagus fluvius.* Read *Padus.*

136 18 *Palans legio multitudinis.* Perhaps *phalanx, legionum multitudines.*

136 21 *Panelaus claritas.* Perhaps *φανερότης.*

136 22 *Papillae mamille vel capite.* Remove *vel.*

136 26 *Papitans timens fiala.* 27 *Patera regium poculum.* Read *palpitans,* and transfer *fiala* to the next gloss.

136 32 *Pantheos deus qui se omnes habet significatores quasi omnium deus.* Read Πᾶν θεός, *deus qui in se omnes habet significationes, quasi omnium deorum deus,* Gloss. Sang. p. 267 34 *Pantheus quasi omnium deus deorum.* Comp. Servius on Ecl. 2 31.

136 33 *Patrat perficit aut demittit.* Read either *admittit* or *committit:* the latter from Gloss. Sang. p. 268 2 *patravit perfecit, commisit.*

136 35 *Parentum maiora.* Read *maiorum.*

136 41 *Passim dispersi et sine modum paruniper. Paruniper* belongs to the next gloss, *paulisper paruniper. Sine modum* may, in this Latin, be right.

137 7 *Pannica terra transita Africa.* Perhaps *Punica terra transita, Africa.*

137 15 *Parest constat.* Read *parret.*

137 22 *Parentia adparendo oboedientia aequalitas.* Read *parentia a parendo, oboedientia:* [*parilitas*] *aequalitas.*

137 32 *Paradonium prope balteum.* Read *paradionium* (=*parazonium*) from *cd.*

137 33 *Partus civis de patria.* 34 *Particus negotiator ipsae.* Perhaps *Parthus civis de patria Parthica.* [*Parthicarius*] *negotiator ipse.* For *Parthicarius* see Cod. Just. 10 47 7.

137 35 *Parat perficit vel admittit.* Read *patrat.*

137 36 *Pascha passio grecum est.* Perhaps πάσχειν *p. graece est.*

138 9 *Pater fie conficendocut quando pax fiet cum barbaris. Pater* seems out of place: perhaps the words may represent something like this: *pax a pactione* (or *pacione*) *condicionum dicitur, quando pax fit cum barbaris;* Festus p. 230 M *pacem a pactione* (?*pacione*) *condicionum dici putat Sinnius Capito.*

138 19 *Patiliter patenter vel divisae.* Read *patule patenter; partiliter divise.*

138 27 *Panicenum genus es vestis.* Read *pannucea...est:* Isidore 19 22 24.

138 31 *Peditatus propagatio filiorum.* 32 *Pediter pedester.*

Perhaps [παιδογονία] *propagatio filiorum. Peditatus* [*pedites*]. *Pedites pedestres.*

138 42 *Perpexit in fraudem induxit.* Read *perlexit* or *pellexit.*

138 43 *Perstromata geminaestiba dii.* Read *peristromata tegmina stibadii:* compare Löwe, Prodromus p. 347, and p. 140 14 of our glossary, *pestromea gegmina stifadii.*

139 9 *Peterat iurat.* Read *peierat.*

139 10 *Pegasus equus velleres fonsi dictus est.* Read *Bellerophonti.*

139 21 *Pela iacula vel tela.* Read *pila.*

140 7 *Penzomaton lumbare vel succinctoria.* Read *perizoma cinctum lumbare vel succinctorium:* Gloss. Graec. Lat. p. 402 44.

140 9 *Penigenam* (= *poenigenam*) *poenam sumentem.* The reference may be a confused one to Aen. 7 772 *fulmine Poenigenam Stygias detrusit ad umbras,* where the alternative reading is *Phoebigenam.* If not, the meaning here given of *poenigena, poenam sumens,* should be noted.

140 11 *Penetravilia interius recondita.* Read *penetrabilia* ...[*penetralia*] *interius recondita.*

140 15 *Perculsus permotus...pertractus.* Perhaps *perfractus.*

140 18 *Perficax intentione ductus.* Perhaps [*pervicax*] *intentione durus: perficax* [*utilis*]: Gloss. Sangall. p. 175 Warren.

140 25 *Pernicibus celerissimis vel locibus.* Read *velocibus.*

140 31 *Perflexa multis conligata modis.* Read *perplexa.*

140 37 *Perduillis affectus vel tyrannidem. Affectus* may belong to the last gloss, *perculsus:* then perhaps we should read *perduellio qui affectat tyrannidem:* Gloss. Lat. Gr. p. 148 13 *perduelliones οἱ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων βουλευόμενοι ἢ κατὰ βασιλέων.*

140 38 *Perpendit libatum perpensaret.* Read *libravit vel* (from *a*) *perpensavit.*

140 39 *Pertransit aut peringreditur.* Remove *aut.*

140 43 *Pergrecare luxuaria Greco ritu.* Read *pergraecari luxuriare G. r.*

140 46 *Perternefecit perturvabit.* Read *perterrefecit perturbavit.*

140 48 *Perspicacem utilem.* Perhaps *Perspicacem* [*vigilantem:* Gloss. Sangall. p. 175 Warren] [*perficacem*] *utilem.*

141 27 *Pertitum celerem aut permomentum.* Probably for *percitum...pervementem.*

141 36 *Perfunctoriae emaginari eleviter aut transitorie.* Read *perfunctorie, imaginarie, leviter a. t.*

141 40 *Persicus qui frequenter aliquid patitur.* Read *passicius* or *perpessicius.*

142 1 *Perstromata gemina.* Read *tegimina* (*tegmina*).

142 11 *Pessuma praecipitata vel confracta.* Read *pessum data.*

142 27 *Petulans verecundus vel importunus.* Read *inverecundus.*

142 33 *Pervicax valde verbosus vel perseverans.* Perhaps [*perdicax*] *valde verbosus. Pervicax perseverans.*

142 39 *Perlucere percutere.* Perhaps [*percellere*] *percutere: perlucere* [*perfulgere*].

143 4 *Pegogium heruditorium puerorum.* Read *paedagogium,* and add *eruditorium* to the lexicons.

143 12 *Piabilem grandem.* Perhaps the reference is to some such phrase as *piabilis victima, piabilis* being taken actively and meaning *likely to atone.*

143 16 *Pipado clamor putantes.* Read *pipatio clamor pipantis.*

143 19 *Pisimitio cerussa.* Read *psimithium.*

143 23 *Pix tracxit velba marina.* Read *pistrices beluae marinae.*

143 28 *Pinici philosofi filo enim grece canis dicitur.* Read *cynici p., κύων e. G. c. d.*

143 29 *Pisi gavatha vel patina.* Perhaps *pyxis ungentaria, patina:* see Isidore 20 7 3.

144 2 *Pisema spelunca.* Perhaps *chasma.*

144 3 *Piste quibus raduntur capita et cedunt se corio crudo.* Read *pyctae* (*πυκταί*).

144 24 *Plagiarius qui inducit pueros et pollitat servos. Pollitat* perhaps stands for *prolectat,* perhaps for *proritat.*

144 34 *Plagiarius ubi iectatur* etc. Read *abigeator*, from *abileiator* in *a*.

144 37 *Plancat pedibus latis qui planas et latas quam umbri ploton vocant.* See Löwe, Prodromus p. 387, 388, Glossae Nominum p. 143. There is surely a confusion between *plancus* and *plautus*, and I would therefore read *plancus p. l. q. plantas habet latas: plautus q. u. p. v.* (See Paulus p. 230, Festus, p. 238 M.)

145 14 *Pleturum percussorium citharae.* Read *plectrum*, and add *percussorium* to the lexicons.

145 19 *Pliades stelle aputoplisto id est a pluralitate dictae sunt.* Read *Pleiades stellae puto a πλείστῳ*, etc.

145 28 *Poenecentarus abis qui purpureas pennas habet.* Read *phoenicopterus avis*, etc.

146 1 *Polumum locus sacrorum.* Perhaps *polubrum lacus.* Something is needed to supplement *sacrorum.*

146 8, 9 *Pomarium locus ubi poma sunt. Pomerium ipse locus arborum.* For *pomerium* read *pometum.*

146 30 *Porcus deus marinus.* Read *Phorcys.*

147 5 *Potior prospector vel melior vel futuri pervisor.* Read *potior melior; prospector futuri provisor.*

147 9 *Poneporanum postforum.* Read *postforaneum.*

147 11 *Polluctare consecrare.* Add *polluctare* to the lexicons.

147 43 *Proripat provocat vel inrigat.* Read *proritat, inritat.*

148 3 *Profligat providet.* Perhaps [*procurat*] *providet; profligat* [*perficit*].

149 10 *Pronus bonus.* Read *provus* (i.e. *probus*).

149 30 *Prorupit floruit.* Read *proruit* for *floruit.*

150 8 *Procax protervus vel importunus aut chromaticus.* Perhaps *procax protervus, importunus:* [*procurator*] *pragmaticus.*

150 12 *Proquodam protraam.* Perhaps *producam protraham.*

150 27 *Procanus hornatus aedificiorum.* Perhaps *πρόδομος.*

150 30 *Promunium qui circat muros.* Add *promunium* (or *promurium?*) to the lexicons.

150 33 *Promitat provocat vel inritat.* Read *proritat.*

150 39 *Pronus facilis vel incursus.* Probably for *pronus incursus, facilis.*

150 45 *Providus largus vel profusus.* Read *providus... prodigus l. v. p.*

150 48 *Propinqui qui a femina veniunt, consanguinei dicunt.* Probably to be supplemented *consanguinei dicunt*[*ur qui a viro*].

151 18 *Profectus actus.* Read *auctus.*

151 21 *Promures primarii viri vel aelecti.* Read *primores.*

151 34 *Profectus honore honoratio.* Read *provectus h. honoratus.*

151 35 *Provilio portatione quis pro se.* Read *pro virili portione quisque p. s.*

152 12 *Prima peto percussit vel deiecit.* Read *prima peto* [*primum locum*], from Glossae Vergilianae p. 459 26 of this volume: *percussit deiecit.*

152 40 *Puerperum aetas puerilis.* Read *puerperium* [*cum puer nascitur*] from Gloss. Sangall. p. 177 517 Warren: [*pueritia*] *aetas puerilis.*

152 44 *Puberat crescit incrementer.* Read *incrementat,* and add *pubero* to the lexicons.

153 7 *Punicavit erubuit.* Georges only quotes one instance of *punico, punicans,* namely, from Apuleius.

153 7 *Purpurilla locus extra porta ubi scorta prostraant dictum est aut isto vocabulo quod matronae stola libertina et toga prostitutae purpurea veste uterentur.* Read *P. l. extra portam ubi scorta prostabant; dictum est autem i. v. q. m. s., libertinae toga, p. p. v. u.* The lexicons do not notice this word.

153 22 *Pueretiolæ faederis portitores.* Read *fetiales foederis p.*

154 9 *Praescivus pulcher vel altus.* Perhaps *praespicuus.*

155 23 *Praetalus bluttea.* Read *petalus brattea.*

155 27 *Praecluens valde exclarus vel ynclitus.* Read perhaps *valde est clarus.* The word *praecluens* should be added to the lexicons.

155 29 *Praecipiti preoccupati.* Read *praecepti.*

156 11 *Praesentescat ex toto sentiat.* Read *persentiscat.*

(*To be continued.*)

H. NETTLESHIP.

HORACE DE ARTE POETICA.

V. 90 *Privatis ac prope socco Dignis carminibus.* The commentators, so far as I know, have not observed that *privatis* is in all probability a translation of ἴδιος in the sense of *ordinary, prosy.* Plato Rep. 2 p. 363 E ἰδίᾳ τε λεγόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ ποιητῶν: p. 366 E οὔτ' ἐν ποιήσει οὔτ' ἐν ἰδίοις λόγοις.

Another interesting translation from the Greek is to be found in *avidus futuri* v. 172. I have already pointed out in my "Contributions to Latin Lexicography" that Seneca uses the expression in the sense of *anxious about the morrow.* I now see, on reading Usener's *Epicurea* (p. 307), that Horace must be translating the Greek expression δεόμενος τῆς αὐρίου, *anxious for the morrow to complete his happiness, not content with to-day.* Epicurus ap. Plut. De Tranq. Animi 16 p. 474 ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἥκιστα δεόμενος ἥδιστα πρόσεισι πρὸς τὴν αὔριον.

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